

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

---

VOL. XI

FEBRUARY 1884

No. 2

---

## OUR TWENTY-ONE PRESIDENTS

### I

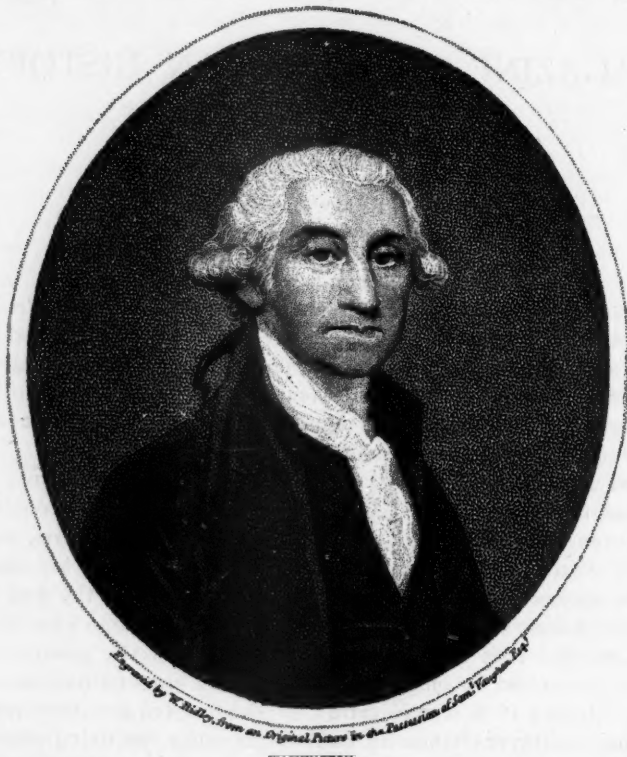
#### THE FIRST TEN—FROM WASHINGTON TO TYLER

THE country has arrived at its majority in the matter of Presidents. That is to say, there have been precisely twenty-one Chief Magistrates in all since the fathers of the Republic learned by experiment that their scheme of maintaining a confederation without a principle of coherence, a Union without a bond of union, a general government without authority to govern, was dangerously impracticable.

At the end of Mr. Arthur's term ninety-six years will have passed since Washington first took the oath of office under the Constitution. The first ten Presidents held the office during fifty-six years, notwithstanding the fact that one of them lived only a month after his inauguration. The eleven who followed them will have ruled, at the end of Mr. Arthur's term, only forty years. Dividing the first ten into two groups of five each, we find that the first group administered the government for thirty-six, the second for only twenty years. Of the first five presidents, four were elected to a second term; of the first ten five were reëlected and one lost whatever chance he had of reëlection by dying during his term. Of the last eleven, only two—Mr. Lincoln and General Grant—were elected a second time, and only General Grant actually served through eight years. Two of the eleven died during the term for which they were originally elected.

Making all allowance for untimely deaths in office, these figures clearly indicate that, while much has been written and spoken in favor of lengthening the term of office, and while, in these latter days, the thought of a third term has found favor with many persons, the people of the United States have been, in practice, shortening the average length of presidential service.

When Washington became President the length of his service was practically a matter for his own determination. His preëminence was beyond dispute, and the estimation in which his wisdom and patriotism were held was such that his reelection, as often as he might choose to accept



WASHINGTON.

[From a rare portrait, published in 1800, in the *European Magazine*, London.]

1789-1797.

the office, was certain. When he voluntarily laid down the burden of service that he had borne for eight years without salary, which he refused to accept, it seems to have been understood, not only that two terms should be in practice the limit of presidential service, but that acceptable service during a first term should entitle the President to reelection, quite as a matter of course. It is true that John Adams, the second President, was not reelected; but his failure only emphasized the principle. He was not

reelected because his service was not acceptable. His political opinions were pretty closely in harmony with those of Washington, but circumstances led to their practical application in ways which alarmed and angered the people, and their alarm as well as their anger found expression in his defeat by the representative of precisely opposite views.

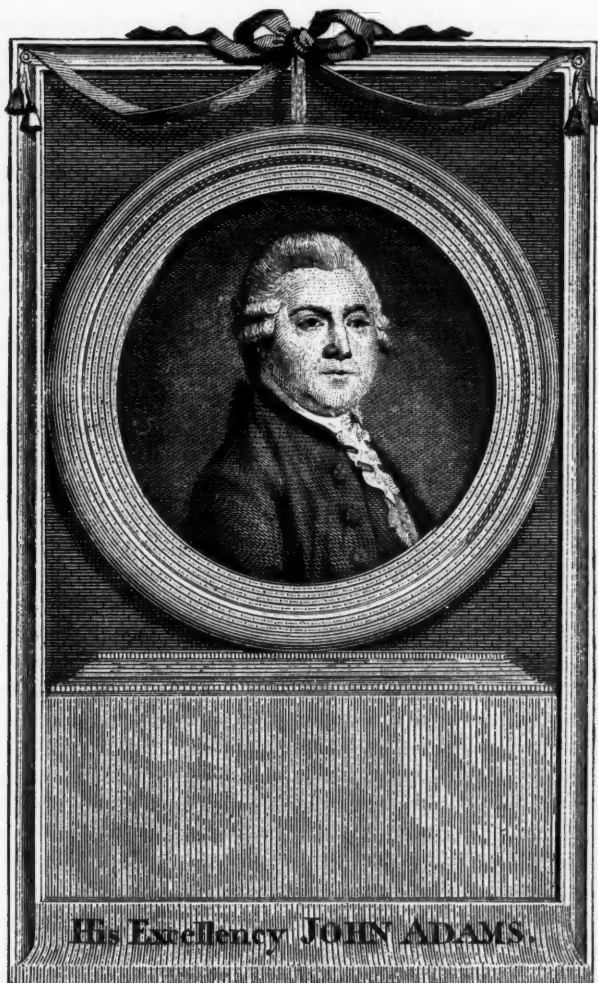
It is not easy for us now to imagine the doubts and fears that beset the people in the early years of the organized Republic. The Union was an experiment the result of which was feared very seriously and very sincerely by many patriotic men. It had been devised with difficulty and adopted with caution, and but for the universal confidence felt in Washington's wisdom and patriotism, it is doubtful whether it could have been instituted at all. During his administration, confidence in him lulled popular apprehension and gave time for the establishment of the Government. But when Adams succeeded him, it was still uncertain what the character and effects of the new Federal Government were to be. There were fears, on the one hand, that the league would prove to be a rope of sand, and a conviction that the only hope of giving stability and permanence to the Government lay in magnifying its powers by the liberal interpretation of the grants made to it in the Constitution. On the other side existed a patriotic jealousy of the Federal power, an earnest fear of its lapse into imperialism, a dread of centralization and of the loss of local self-government in the dominance of the central power, wielded by a tyrannous majority. It was the elder Adams's misfortune to represent the Federalist doctrine in circumstances which made its practical application peculiarly offensive. The Alien and Sedition laws, which may be fairly regarded as the key-notes of Adams's policy, were intended to defend the general Government against danger and to enforce due respect for it in speech as well as in act, at a time when perils and difficulties beset the country on every hand. There can be no doubt that those laws were passed by Congress and approved by the President in the sincerest conviction of their necessity; but the people received them with great alarm. They were held to be not only despotic in themselves, but of despotic tendency and significance. Those who were jealous of the Federal power saw in these laws and in the attitude of the Government generally, the threatening beginnings of that lapse into imperialism which they most dreaded and were most anxious to avert by giving a distinctly democratic character to our institutions, and by keeping the general Government strictly within the narrowest bounds possible under the Constitution. Many of those who had before favored strength and breadth of function on the part of the Federal power, became alarmed at these practical applications of the

principles, and went over to the other side. Even Hamilton, whose views were less democratic than those of any other statesman of the time, was alarmed by the Sedition law and earnestly sought to prevent its passage. "Let us not establish a tyranny," he wrote; "energy is a very different thing from violence." But in spite of his protest the offensive measure was passed. The violence which he deprecated was resorted to in the name of energy, and the "tyranny" which he feared became the nightmare of the people, who, in face of their conviction that a second term should be usually a matter of course, refused to reëlect President Adams. Their refusal was a rebuke in the nature of a vote of censure, and there was no other departure from the two-term rule until twenty years later, when the younger Adams was denied a second election. Jackson followed next, serving two terms, and with him the two-term tradition ceased. Of the fourteen Presidents who have held the office since Jackson's time, only two have been chosen for second terms, and their reëlections were due to their special preëminence in popular regard at the time, rather than to any public conviction that a second term should be usually the reward of good service during a first. It is worthy of note, too, as significant of an actual change in public sentiment in this respect, that, while the failures of the elder and younger Adams to secure second elections were due to changes in the political complexion of the country, no such explanation can be given in the cases of their successors. Van Buren, indeed, was the unsuccessful candidate of his party a second time, his renomination being due, perhaps, to a lingering respect for the old tradition; but after his defeat the custom even of nominating a President for reëlection fell into disuse. Since that time—with the exceptions of Lincoln and Grant—no President has been nominated by his party to be his own successor.

But to return to the first ten Presidents, with whom only we are at present concerned. The tone of the country, if we may so say, its opinions, aspirations, and purposes are reflected in their characters and political attitudes, as distinctly as its history is traced in the record of their official acts.

At the outset, the country was content to make Washington President, not so much for what he represented as for what he was. His career had not been of a kind to bring his convictions upon questions of politics and statesmanship into prominence, except in that general way which arouses no antagonism. The people knew him to be a patriot above everything, and their confidence in his soundness of judgment and his calm discretion, was unbounded. There were no distinct party lines, and Washington belonged to no party. The country was at the beginning of an experiment





[From a portrait executed in London in 1783.]

1797-1801.

which was attended by many difficulties and viewed by many persons with doubt and fear. There could be no question then, and there is none now, that George Washington was the man best fitted to direct the early course of the young Republic, and he was chosen for this eminent fitness—to which

his mind, his character, and the circumstances of his previous life contributed—and not because he represented any particular political creed or policy.

When Washington declined to be elected for a third time, a somewhat similar impulse prompted the people to look for his successor among the men who had rendered services only less eminent than his, during the Revolution. But while Washington stood alone in his preëminence, the class next below him in the popular regard included several men of the largest capacity and most exalted patriotism. The choice was certain in any case to fall upon one of that revolutionary group, but by that time the two opposing views of the Constitution and of the policy to be pursued in the exercise of the functions of government had been arrayed against each other with some degree of definiteness. There were two parties—the Federalist and the Republican—and the line of demarcation between them was beginning to be pretty distinct. The contest was between Adams and Jefferson. It was the sharper and closer because, as the years of the Republic grew, the feeling of the people was becoming steadily stronger in favor of distinctly republican institutions, and Adams had alarmed that sentiment by certain expressions in his "Discourses on Davila." The discourses were written while Adams was Vice-president, and those features of them which were most obnoxious, were inspired by no lack of earnestness in the author's desire for free popular government, but by a no unnatural alarm at the excesses of the Red republicans of France. Seeing in those excesses the extremes of dangerous absurdity to which doctrinaire democracy might be pushed when suffered to deal unrestrainedly with the affairs of men, Adams was convinced that some effective restraint should be provided in the constitution of the Republic. He thought a certain element of aristocracy and even of monarchism necessary as a counterpoise to the democratic tendencies of republican institutions. His expression of these opinions in the "Discourses on Davila" helped not a little to bring about that division of the people into distinct political parties of which we have spoken, and to enable Jefferson—who had been at one time a member of Washington's administration but had withdrawn because his Democratic convictions put him out of harmony with the President and cabinet—to dispute the presidential succession with him.

There are many points of interest in connection with this first party contest. Hamilton, rather than Adams, was the recognized leader of the Federalists. Jay, too, was a leader whom many Federalists, including Hamilton, favored, but even in that early day the question of "availability" was a potent factor, and Adams was the most available man among the Federalists.

When the election was held, Adams won by the narrow majority of two electoral votes; and it is a curious fact that both of those votes which gave the Massachusetts candidate a majority over his Virginian opponent were from the South, one of them being from Jefferson's own State, and the other from North Carolina. Electors were free agents in those days, and not, as now, instructed delegates charged with the performance of a perfunctory duty.

Another fact of interest in connection with this election concerns the Vice-presidency. Some of the Federalist leaders hoped for a success which would have put their party in power without making Adams President. Pinckney was their candidate for Vice-president, and as the voting then was only for President, the person receiving the second highest vote becoming Vice-president, it was believed that Pinckney might be made President by reason of his popularity at the South. It was thought—and truly—that he would receive a larger vote than Adams in that quarter of the country, and that an even division of the northern Federalist vote between the two, would make Pinckney President and Adams Vice-president, although the party's purpose was the reverse of this. In other words, the Federalist candidate for President was opposed, not only by the Republican candidate, but also by his colleague the Federalist candidate for Vice-president. It was a curious state of things certainly, and its result was equally curious. The New England electors took the alarm, and withheld from Pinckney the votes which they would otherwise have given him. As a consequence, he fell short of election even to the second place, and Jefferson became Vice-president. If the old method of choosing the President were still in use, what might not an election become with the aid of modern political ingenuity and modern appliances!

Adams was 62 years of age when he became President. At the end of his term he was 66, but his vigor was unimpaired, and his remarkable capacity for work was as great as ever. He lived to the age of 91, he and Jefferson dying on the same day, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. One was the author of that instrument, the other its champion in the long debate which secured its adoption; both signed it, and both lived to preside over the Republic to which it gave birth.

Early in Adams's administration the course of public affairs tended strongly to increase the popularity of the President and his party. The arrogant pretensions of France aroused the people to fury, and the vigor with which the President combated those pretensions and called the people to arms in defense of the country, excited the utmost enthusiasm. On

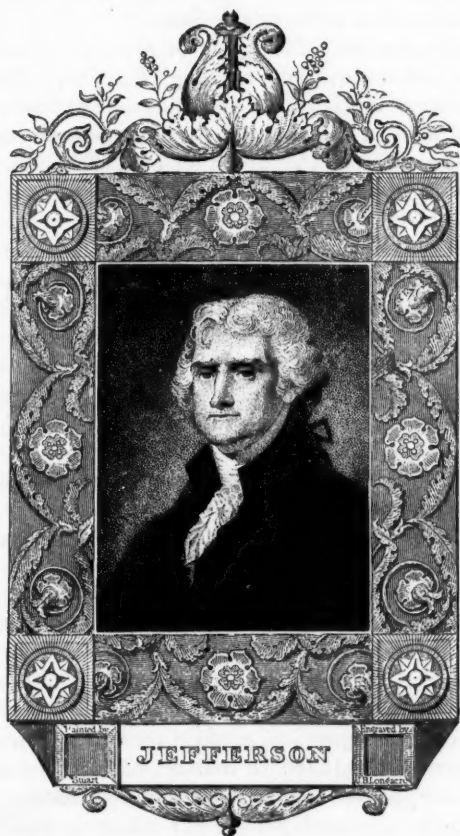
the other hand, the favor and sympathy which the Republicans, and especially Jefferson, had formerly manifested toward France, brought upon them suspicions of something approaching disloyalty. The country was in a "war fever," and the party which favored the strengthening of the general Government, had the benefit of the excitement. Thus far the tendency of events had been to impress our institutions with that character which the Federalists wished to give them, and if unchecked, that tendency must have molded them into a much less democratic form than that in which they have come down to us. Perhaps it is well for us and for the cause of popular government, that neither of the two opposing principles was permitted to have free course, and that they prevailed successively in the precise order in which they did. The prevalence of Federalism during the first twelve years gave stability to our institutions and reality to the authority and influence of the general Government; while the succession at that time of the representatives of opposite opinions put a wholesome check upon a tendency which might have been dangerous if it had come down to us with the undisputed sanction of all the revolutionary group of presidents.

However that may be, the fact of the change remains. Before the time arrived for a new election, the danger of war had passed away, and Adams lost the support which the war spirit would have given him. In the meantime the people had taken alarm at some of the measures adopted during the excitement, and there grew up a popular conviction of the necessity of putting a check upon the course of the Government.

The system of electoral voting now resulted still more strangely than it had done in the preceding election. The Republicans had set out to make Jefferson President and Aaron Burr Vice-president; but in casting their electoral ballots they managed so badly as to give each of their two candidates precisely the same number of votes. Adams and Pinckney—the Federalist candidates—were defeated, but Jefferson and Burr were not elected. The matter was carried into the House of Representatives and a prolonged contest ensued. Thirty-six ballotings took place before it was determined that the higher office should be filled by Jefferson and the lower by Burr.

With Jefferson's inauguration a radical change of tone appeared, which was not without permanent effects upon the character of our institutions, and especially upon official etiquette in the matter of forms and ceremonies. Not only were Washington and Adams supporters of the Federalist idea of a strong central government; they both favored the maintenance of a good deal of state and ceremony in official life. Washington had been bred in

a society essentially aristocratic, and his long career in arms had still further cultivated his sense of the dignity of authority. He was not without stateliness in private life, and in office he sternly insisted upon the observance of forms and courtly ceremonies, and laid great stress upon the trappings of state in his equipage and surroundings. Adams was bred in a much more democratic society, and personally was less aristocratic in feeling; but he was convinced of the need of forms and ceremonies, and even of high-sounding official titles and a rigid official etiquette, as necessary means of preserving popular respect for the Government and stimulating



1801-1809.



men to earnest public service by appeals to their self-love and ambition for distinction. The first two presidents, therefore, lent their influence to the establishment of courtly etiquette and very undemocratic relations between rulers and the people.

Jefferson's views were the reverse of this. He was a pronounced democrat in feeling as well as in conviction. He had written in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," and he believed it. In the very year in which the Declaration was signed, he had declined a distinguished diplomatic appointment in order that he might labor at home for the removal of feudal and aristocratic features from the laws and the social system of his native State.

Entering the legislature of Virginia in 1776, he at once proposed the passage of a law for the purpose of cutting off entails. Appointed upon a commission to revise the laws, he prepared bills not only for the cutting off of entails, but also for the abolition of primogeniture, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the abolition of a church establishment. It was necessary to fight for these measures at every step, so contrary were they to the hereditary prejudices and prevalent convictions of the Virginians, whose whole social system rested upon feudal foundations. Even this, his early and earnest championship of democratic ideas, was not the beginning of his advocacy of the equal rights of men. Ten years before that time, when he was only twenty-six years old and was in his first term as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he attacked slavery in the way then believed to be most efficacious, by introducing a bill to permit slave-holders to free their servants at will—a thing then forbidden by law.

Democrat by nature and conviction, and profound disbeliever in the shams of state and ceremony, Jefferson began his career as President by setting at naught all the courtly traditions and introducing a distinctly republican simplicity in official life. The result was the rapid growth of republicanism in popular favor throughout the country. The dread of democracy passed away. The conviction, which had lingered in the minds of many, that some aristocratic elements were necessary to the stability of government, and that it would be dangerous to permit the Republic to become too republican in character, was rapidly weakened. The permanent effects of Jefferson's practical application of his principles to the conduct of affairs were not confined to matters of form, by any means. His administration stamped the country with that republican character which it had never really possessed before, but which is now ingrained in the very fiber of our national life. Under Washington and Adams, the Gov-

ernment had acquired solidity and a permanent hold upon life; under Jefferson the country began its education in those principles of popular government and the political equality of men, which have been applied fearlessly and fully only in our own later time. A just view of the service done by his resolute application of his democratic ideas to official conduct should prompt us to forgive him those excesses of simplicity which we sometimes criticise. It was scarcely necessary, even upon strictly democratic principles, for a President of the United State to receive a British Minister in dressing gown and slippers; but such small manifestations of extreme views may be forgiven to the statesman who did so much to impress a republican character upon the Republic, and to eradicate those inherited prejudices which forbade the logical application of our republican principles to the practical conduct of affairs. Perhaps the liberalizing influence of Jefferson's administration was not less a benefit to the country than his purchase of the Louisiana territory, which gave us the Mississippi river, doubled our area, and saved us from the possibility of having a rival power established beyond our western frontier.

The growth of the Republican party in popularity during Jefferson's administration was rapid and continuous, and Madison, having received a caucus nomination as the candidate of the party, was chosen to be his successor almost as a matter of course. In spite of the protest of a hostile faction in his own party, he received 122 of the 175 electoral votes.

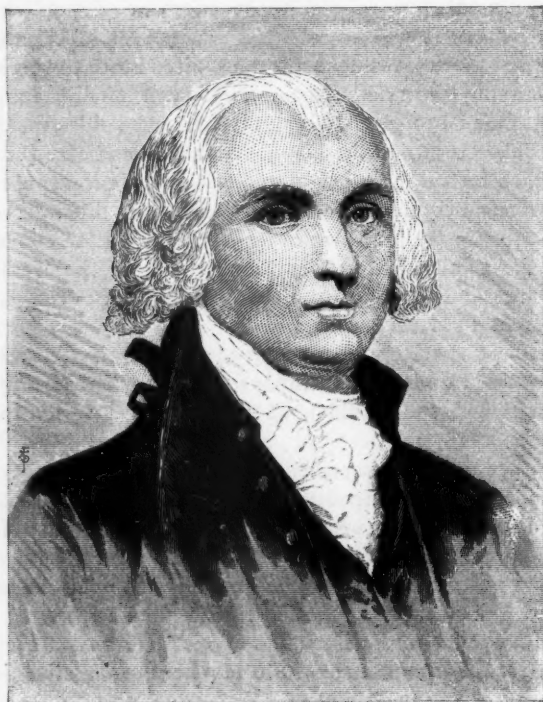
It is significant of the tentative character of early republicanism in America, and of the need which even the strongest men felt for the education of experience, that Madison was the second President elected by the Republican party; for Madison had begun with opinions more Federalist in character than those of the Federalists themselves.

He had advocated centralization of an extreme kind. He had argued that the general Government should have power to negative State legislation at will—a doctrine so extreme in its nature as to amount in practice to consolidation and the complete abrogation of local self-government.

He was one of the authors of *The Federalist*, and was in accord with Hamilton and Jay in political opinions. He was, in brief, a sincere Federalist of an extreme type. But further thought upon the matters involved in these questions wrought a radical change in his views. He became convinced that the provisions of the Constitution, strictly construed, should be the exact measure of the Federal power. The friend of Washington and Hamilton, he was compelled by his conscience to oppose the measures devised by the latter and presented by the former to Congress. He became, upon conviction, a pronounced Republican, as he had been before a pro-

nounced Federalist. He was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1798-9, which became a sort of gospel of States' Rights in later times.

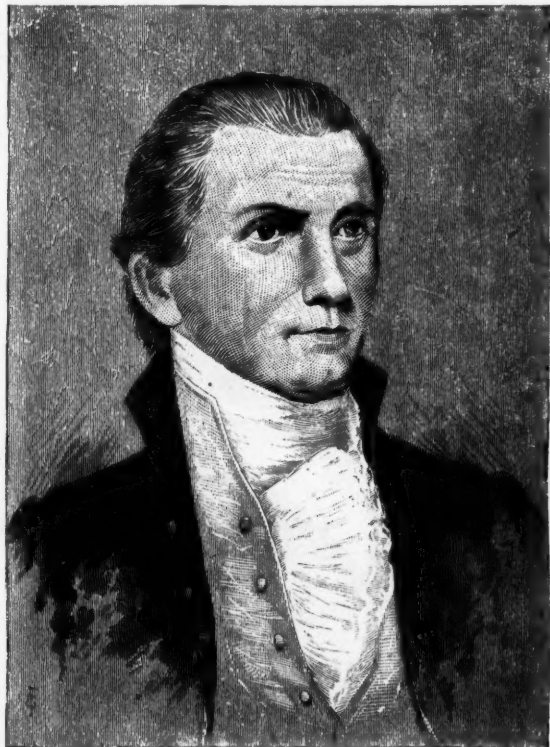
It was Madison's fortune to see the party opposed to him destroy itself by the character of its opposition to the measures of his administration.



JAMES MADISON.  
1809-1817.

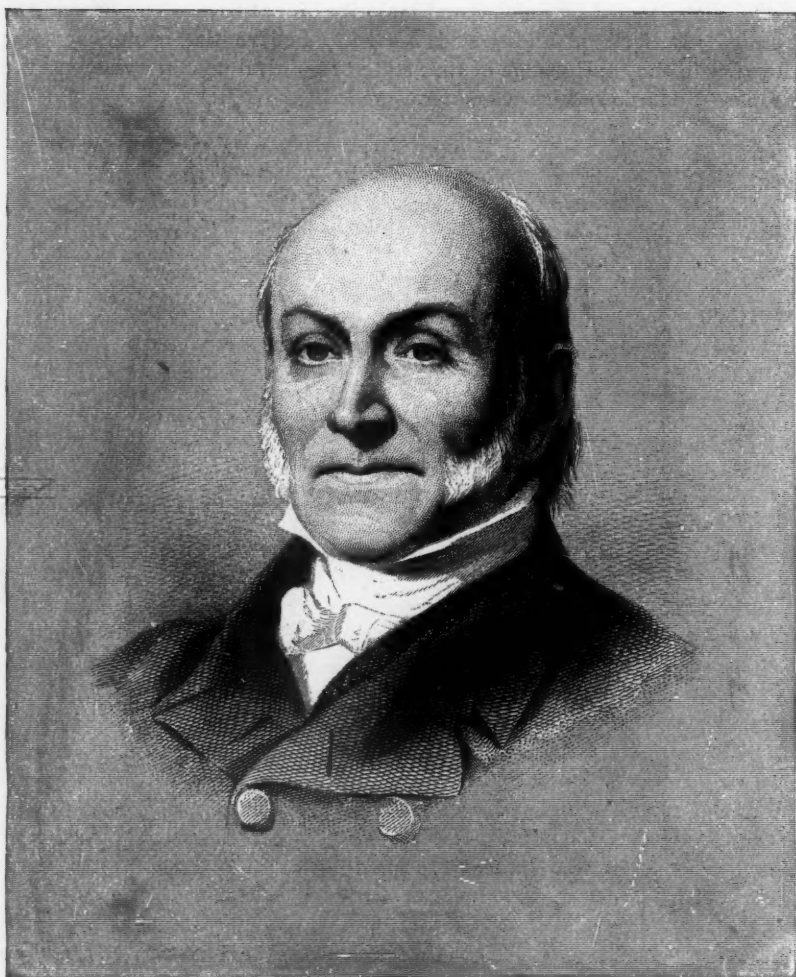
When his second term drew near its end the Federalist party had almost ceased to be. Its hostility to the administration had found expression during the war with Great Britain, in ways which, justly or unjustly, brought suspicion upon its patriotism, and a great number of its former adherents abandoned it as no longer worthy of their support. In the election of his successor, Monroe, the candidate of the Democratic Republicans, received 183 electoral votes, with only 34 against him, and, at the end of his first

term, was reelected by an electoral majority of 231 to 1. This was in the "era of good feeling," and there is reason to believe that confidence was then felt in the continuance of that state of political unanimity among the people—a delusion which was soon dispelled.



JAMES MONROE.  
1817-1825.

Monroe had been one of the first to see the inefficiency of the old confederation and the necessity for a "more perfect union." As early as 1785 he sought to secure the extension of the powers of Congress, especially with respect to the regulation of inter-state commerce. But he opposed the adoption of the Constitution and was one of the minority who voted against it in the Virginia Convention. As a pupil of Jefferson in the study of law, he had probably molded his political opinions upon those of the



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.  
[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]  
1825-1829.

great Democrat. It was as a Republican that he was chosen President, and he was conscious of no change in his politics; and yet some of the measures of his administration were of a kind which, a little later, would

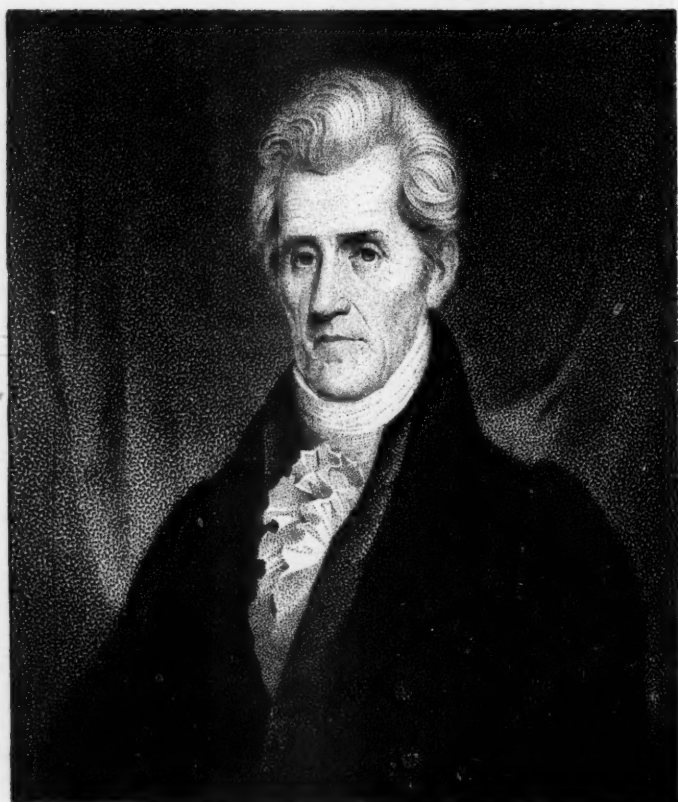


have placed him upon the opposite side in politics. No forecast of the future was possible at that time, however, and Monroe could no more know what part the Bank question was to play in the years to come than he could foresee the troubles that were to grow out of the Missouri compromise, which was resorted to during his administration as a final and effective adjustment of the slavery controversy.

The choice of John Quincy Adams to be Mr. Monroe's successor affords still another illustration of the uncertainty of men's allegiance to party and even the uncertainty of their opinions in the early years of the government. Mr. Adams began his public service as a diplomatist, and continued in that career until the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, when he was recalled. He was sent to the Senate as a Federalist, and remained in the opposition during Jefferson's first term. He then changed his views and supported the Republican administration, thereby losing his seat in the Senate and incurring much odium. In his new party relations he was a relentless foe to his former political associates, even accusing them of having conspired to break up the Union, and of a treasonable readiness to aid England in a new attempt to subjugate the country by arms. His accusations against the Federalists contributed largely to create that popular distrust of their patriotism under which the party ultimately sank. He was called to Monroe's Cabinet, and was one of four candidates for the succession, in the most complicated contest that at any time occurred under the old system. He was a Republican, and so were all of his competitors in a sense, the new party lines being still indistinct. He had been the specially bitter enemy of the Federalists, to whom he had done more hurt than any other of the four. And yet it was the support of the old Federalists of New England that gave him votes enough to make him one of the three candidates who could be voted for in the House of Representatives, and thus in the end made him President. Another curious fact in connection with the contest is, that when it became apparent that either he or Jackson must win, Jefferson earnestly supported Adams. Jackson was the type and representative of that Demos whose prophet Jefferson had been from his youth up; but the founder and apostle of Democracy seems to have been frightened at the specter he had raised in the person of the western warrior.

By vote of the House of Representatives, Adams became President. Elected as a Republican—or Democrat, as the members of that party began about that time to be called—it was the irony of fate that the inchoate opposition to that party crystallized around the measures of his administration and made their advocacy the basis of a new party hostile

to the Democrats. His policy of internal improvements at the charge of the nation, and the maintenance of a protective tariff, soon became the cardinal doctrines of the Whigs, and his chief secretary and adviser was afterwards the leader of that party. On the other hand, all the elements of opposition to Adams and his policy gathered to the support of Jackson,



ANDREW JACKSON.  
1829-1837.

and in his second contest for the Presidency, Adams was the candidate of the party in opposition to the Democrats, and was thus again defeated by a party with which he had been in active co-operation. The defeat was a disastrous one—Jackson receiving 178 and Adams 83 electoral votes.

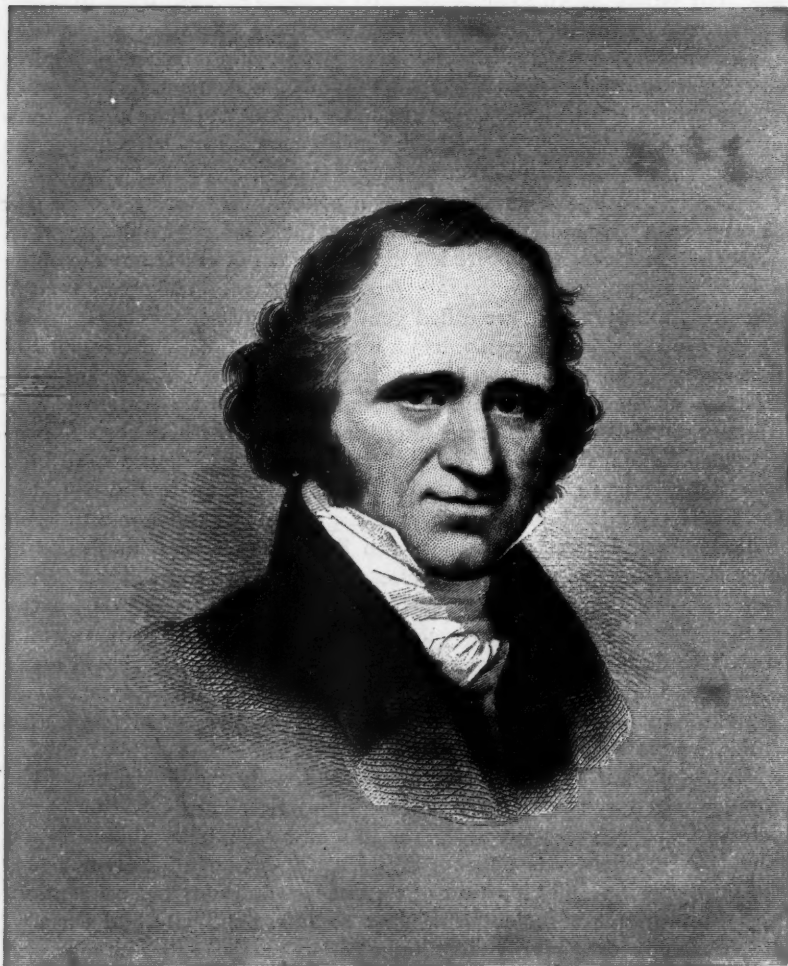
In his long after-career in Congress, Adams was independent of party ties, devoting his energies chiefly to matters of principle, in advocacy of which neither of the great parties then in existence was ready to follow him. The odium which some of his party changes brought upon him, like that incurred by his independent championship of the right of petition, has passed utterly away, and the calmer judgment of a later day recognizes and respects the sincerity with which he followed his convictions at cost of his reputation for consistency. If circumstances, at the time of his quitting the Federalists, gave to that act the appearance of self-seeking, the suspicion that it was such in fact no longer survives.

In the election of Jackson, Democracy in concrete form asserted itself. He was a representative of the common people, as the common people then were.

All the Presidents who preceded him were men of education; with the single exception of Washington, all were college men. They were bred in refinement, and were what are called gentlemen. Jackson was born in poverty, grew up in the backwoods, had a meager education, and had lived in the midst of an uncultivated society. Even his military service had been performed on the frontiers, and had brought him into association chiefly with men unused to the refinements of life. His career had been romantic, indeed, in some of its features, but the romance was of the rude kind which appeals more strongly to the uncultivated than to the educated classes. His political preferment was largely due to the admiration felt for his military prowess; but there can be no doubt that his fitness to represent the common people, as one of themselves, contributed to the result. His election was, in part at least, an act of self-assertion on the part of the undistinguished democratic masses. He had the virtues which were held in highest repute among the common people. He shared many of their prejudices, and fulfilled in every way their ideal of manhood. They gloried in him as an example of their virtues, and the representative of their class in its best development.

His irruption, if we may so call it, into the society and official life of the capital, gave a shock to the still stately proprieties. His elevation to the chief magistracy was a source of alarm to many. That his administration should be turbulent was a necessary result of his imperious temper, his arrogant disposition, and his want of respect for traditions and conventionalities; and it was turbulent from first to last, politically and socially. But it was marked by sturdy vigor and a robust patriotism which may well be put into the balance against its errors. These qualities were recognized by the country in the election of 1832, when Jackson was chosen for a second term, receiving the electoral votes of 16 of the 23 states.

With Jackson, as has been said already, the two-term tradition came to an end. Van Buren, who came into office in 1837, was doomed to encounter trouble throughout his administration. The financial panic of 1837,

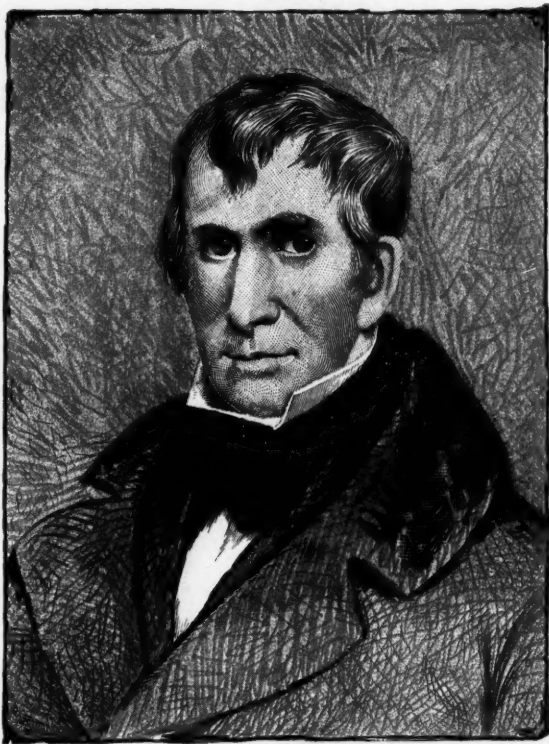


MARTIN VAN BUREN.

[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]

1837-1841.

resulting in the utter prostration of business, was resented by the people as the direct consequence of Jackson's policy, and Mr. Van Buren, as his successor and political heir, was held vicariously responsible. His administration was beset with difficulties such as no former President had encountered; and, able as he was, he could not save his party or secure a

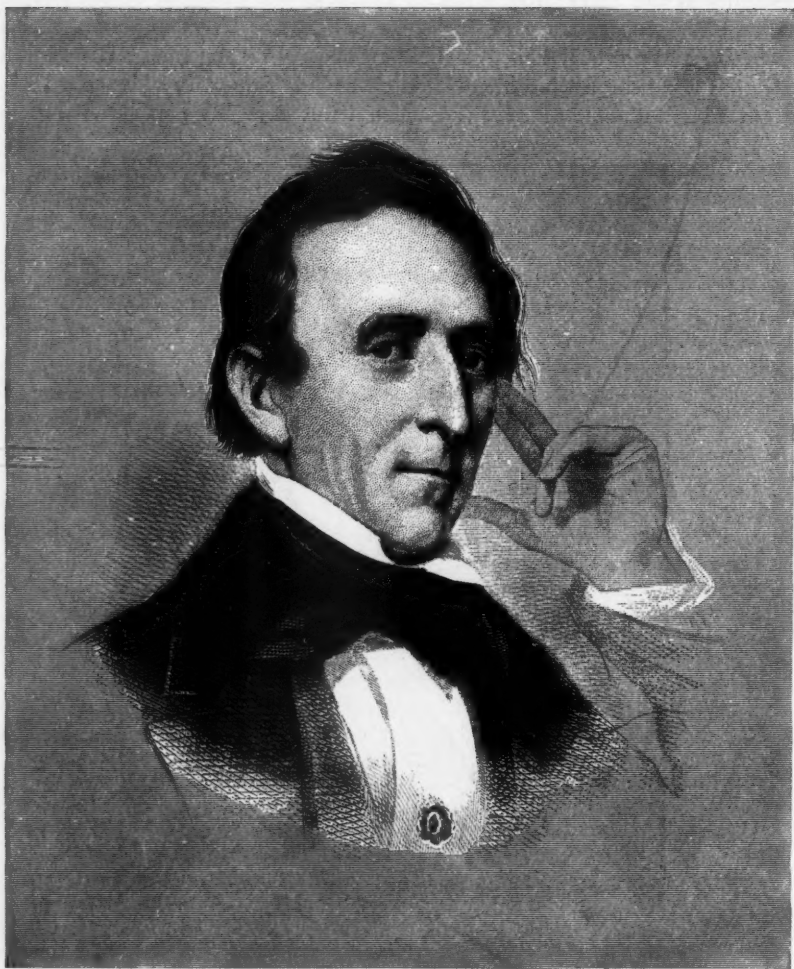


WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.  
1841.

reëlection. He had become President, because the Democratic policy was in favor with the country; but his term had scarcely begun before the party lost the popular favor, not through any act of his own—for he had as yet had no time to do anything—and he was never able to recover the position.

The campaign of 1840 was an affair of political songs and catch-words.





JOHN TYLER.  
[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]  
1841-1845.

There was little serious discussion in it, little of intrigue and adroit combination—agencies which were active in most of the earlier contests. The really potent forces in the election of Harrison were the same as those

which secured the presidency for Jackson. Harrison, like Jackson, had an attractive reputation for military achievements, and, like Jackson, he was a man of the people. The Democratic impulse was not confined to the Democratic party. It was equally strong among the Whigs, now that the policy of the Democrats was under censure. It seized upon the homeliness of Harrison's life, the humbleness of his surroundings, and the plainness of his manners, and gloried in them. Demos found in the Whig candidate another representative of itself, whose achievements were honorable to the people, and it made him President, as it had made Jackson President before.

Harrison had no administration. The office-holders worried him to death in a month, and the Vice-president, Tyler, succeeded him.

It is curiously illustrative of what has been said about the absence of thought from the campaign of 1840, that in choosing their Vice-president, whose election to that office made him President, the Whigs selected a man who was not an adherent of their party at all. He had favored certain measures advocated by them, and it seems to have been taken for granted, without much inquiry, that John Tyler was a Whig. As a matter of fact, he appears to have belonged to neither party, though he earnestly desired Clay's election to the Presidency, and is said to have wept when the Whigs passed their great leader by to nominate Harrison.

His administration was one long quarrel, into which it is not our province or purpose to enter. He deprived the Whigs of the fruits of their victory, by vetoing their favorite measures, but did not succeed in winning sufficient favor among the Democrats to secure their support for reelection.

Of the first ten Presidents, Tyler was the youngest at the time of taking office, his age being 51; Harrison was the oldest, being 68. John Adams lived to the greatest age, dying at 91. Washington's life was shortest, covering only 67 years. Five of the ten—viz., the elder and younger Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Van Buren—lived to be 80 years of age or more, and all but Washington and Harrison passed their seventieth years. Adams and Jefferson died on the same day. Van Buren and Tyler died in the same year.

*George Cary Eggleston*

## THE HOUSES OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS

The remains found in Mexico and Central America furnish the antiquarian with abundant materials by which to judge of the architectural skill of the ancient inhabitants of those regions; but unfortunately the works of the mound-builders afford but few and dim traces of their skill in this respect. Up to the present time, not a single dwelling coeval with, and bearing evident relation to, these works, has been discovered. Though hundreds of groups of mounds, marking the sites of their ancient villages, are to be seen scattered over the country, yet in none of all the number is there a single house remaining, nor, until very recently, was it known that the remains, or even the trace, of one could with certainty be identified.

Although the magnitude and extent of many of these works prove beyond question that the builders must have been sedentary, subsisting to a large extent upon the products of the soil, and dwelling in houses of a more permanent character than the tents of nomads or temporary wigwams of the roving tribes, yet all have crumbled to dust. The inference is, therefore, irresistible that their houses were built of perishable materials—a fact entirely consonant with their environments, as they lived in a land clothed with heavy forests and supplied with abundant moisture.

Although no examples of their houses remain, we are not left wholly in the dark in reference to them. In various localities, especially in Middle and West Tennessee, in Southern Illinois and Southeastern Missouri, the sites of thousands of them are yet distinctly marked by little circular saucer-shaped depressions, each surrounded by a slightly raised earthen ring. By digging in the center from one to three feet deep, we almost invariably find the ashes and hearth that mark the place where the fire was built, and often unearth from the same place fragments of vessels used in cooking and the bones of animals upon whose flesh the people fed.

By carefully throwing off the deposit made since they were abandoned, we can frequently follow the layer of hard-beaten earth—sometimes clay or mixed with clay—which formed the floor of the dwelling.

These facts and various other indications render it evident beyond any reasonable doubt that they are dwelling sites. That they do not mark the places of temporary camps is apparent from the circular excavations, the usual low ring of earth around the margin, the evidences of continued occupation, and the invariable presence of mounds in their midst. In ad-

dition to these evidences of permanent residence, the group is often surrounded by a wall of earth, which in all probability marks the line of a former palisade, and there is invariably a burying ground, either in low mounds or consisting of simple or stone graves, near at hand.

We are, therefore, warranted in concluding that these little circular depressions, varying in diameter from fifteen to fifty feet, mark the sites and indicate the form of one class of the dwellings of the mound-builders.

As the fire-place is invariably in the center, and nothing found to indicate the use of a flue or chimney, we conclude there was an opening in the top of the dwelling or wigwam for the escape of the smoke, and that the form of the house was conical or dome-shaped, probably the former.

The ring of earth has doubtless been formed by the decay of the bark covering, and by the earth thrown around and against the base to keep out water and to shield from the wind and cold in the winter.

So far as observed, no particular order appears to have been maintained in regard to the relative positions of these dwellings, except that sufficient space was allowed between them to afford passways.

Professor Putnam, who found many of these dwelling sites during his explorations in Tennessee, remarks as follows in regard to them: "Scattered irregularly within the inclosure are nearly one hundred more or less defined, circular ridges of earth, which are from a few inches to a little over three feet in height, and of diameters varying from ten to fifty feet. An examination of these low mounds, or rather earth rings, as there could generally be traced a central depression, soon convinced me that I had before me the remains of the dwellings of the people who had erected the large mound, made the earthen embankment, buried their dead in the stone graves, and lived in this fortified town, as I now feel I have a right to designate it." An examination of the similar remains in Southern Illinois and southeastern Missouri will soon suffice to lead any one to a similar conclusion.

In these remains we have evidences of customs and modes of life so strongly resembling those of some of the Indian tribes that no one can fail to notice them. The circular form, the size, the central fire, the want of regularity in placing them, and the perishable materials of which they were made are all indications pointing to the one conclusion.

But our testimony in regard to the dwellings of the mound-builders is not yet exhausted, meager as it has generally been supposed.

During the progress of explorations by assistants of the Bureau of Ethnology last year, in Southeast Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi, especially in Arkansas, in numerous instances, probably hundreds, beds of

hard-burned clay, containing impressions of grass and cane, were observed. These were generally found one or two feet below the surface of the low, flat mounds, from one to five feet high and from fifteen to fifty feet in diameter, though by no means confined to mounds of this character, as they were also observed near the surface of the large flat-topped and conical mounds.

So common were these burnt clay beds in the low flat mounds, and so evidently the remains of former houses, that the explorers generally speak of them in their reports as "house sites."

As a general rule, in opening them, the strata occur in this order: *first*, a top layer of soil from one to two feet thick; then a layer of burnt clay from four inches to a foot thick (though usually varying from four to eight inches thick), and broken into lumps—never in a uniform unbroken layer; immediately below this a layer of ashes and charcoal, in which are usually found fragments of pottery and occasionally whole vessels, stone chips, broken bones of animals and other refuse; immediately below this a thin layer of hardened muck or dark clay, though this does not always seem to be distinct; at this depth, in the mounds in the eastern part of Arkansas, are usually found one and sometimes two skeletons.

I take almost at random from Dr. Palmer's report (not yet published) a statement in reference to these beds. Speaking of the slight elevations, which here are not rings as further north, but low flat mounds, he says:

"As a general and almost universal rule, after removing a foot or two of top soil a layer of burnt clay in a broken or fragmentary condition would be found, sometimes with impressions of grass or twigs, and easily crumbled, but often hard and stamped apparently with an implement made of split reeds of comparatively large size. This layer was often a foot thick and frequently burned to a brick red or even to clinkers. Below this would be found more or less ashes, and often six inches of charred grass immediately over the skeletons. These were found lying in all directions, some with the face up, others with it down and others on the side. With these were found vessels of clay, some with one, others with more."

At another place, in a broad platform-like elevation not more than three feet high, he found and traced by the burnt clay the outlines of three rectangular houses. The edges of the upright walls were very apparent in this case, as also the clay which must have fallen from them, and which raised the outer marginal lines considerably higher than the inner area. "The fire," Dr. Palmer remarks, "must have been very fierce, and the clay around the edges was evidently at some height above the floor, as I judge from the irregular way in which it is scattered around the margins."

Excavations in the areas showed that they were covered with a layer



of burnt clay, uneven and broken ; immediately below this a layer of ashes six inches thick, and below this black loam. On these areas were growing some large trees, one a poplar three feet in diameter.

Below one of these floors was found a skeleton, some pottery and a pipe. A large oak formerly stood at this point, but has been blown down. Close by these dwelling sites is a large mound ten feet high, in the form of a truncated pyramid.

Scores of cases, similar in character and differing but slightly in details, might be given from the reports of the explorers, but I will call attention only to two more.

Mr. Thing, digging into the summit of a medium sized mound in South-east Missouri, where there was a slight circular depression, found at the depth of two feet a similar layer of burnt clay—but I will let him tell his own story : “On the top of the mound, in a small circular depression, I dug down a couple of feet, when I came to a sort of platform of burnt clay. It seemed to be made up of irregularly shaped pieces, one side being smooth and the other rough. And what was peculiar, the *smooth side was down*.” It is easy to account for this on the supposition that it had been the plastering of an upright wall, which, when the wooden support gave way before the flames, had fallen over in a broad sheet, thus carrying the smooth inner side downward. In confirmation of this view, we may state that down the slope on one side were also found loose fragments of the burnt clay which had evidently broken loose from the mass and rolled down the side.

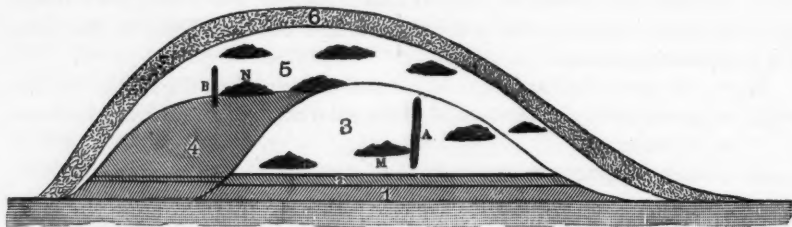
Our next and last illustration is from the report of Colonel Norris—the locality, Butler county, Missouri ; the group consisted of an inclosing wall and ditch, two large outer excavations, and four mounds inside. The largest mound of the four measured about one hundred and fifty feet in length, one hundred and twenty in width, and twenty feet high at the highest point. A longitudinal section is shown in the figure.

We will now let Colonel Norris describe it from his notes taken on the ground :

“A thorough examination was made of this mound by plowing and cutting away nearly one half of it and running trenches through the remaining portion. The construction was found to be somewhat peculiar, as will be seen by reference to the figure, which shows a vertical section through the length.

“The bottom layer, 1, is a circular platform about one hundred feet in diameter and two feet high, formed of yellow sand, similar to the original surface beneath and around it. The next layer, marked 2, is only six

inches thick and consists of dark blue adhesive clay or muck from the swamp, which by long use has become very hard. It was strewn over with burnt clay, charcoal, ashes, fragments of split bones, stone chips, fragments of pottery and mussel shells.



SOME REMAINS OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS.

"The next layer, 3, is eight feet thick at the central point of what appears to have been the original mound of which it was the top stratum. But it is not uniform, and although showing no distinct layers was not all formed at one time, as in it were found at least three distinct fire-beds of burnt earth and heavy accumulations of ashes, charcoal and charred animal bones. In this layer, somewhat south of the center, at *m*, were found the charred fragments of long poles and small logs all lying horizontally, and also a post (*a*), probably of locust wood, six inches thick and five feet long, still erect, but the upper end shortened by fire and the lower end haggled off by some rude implement.

"Layer number 4 is an addition to the original plan, but here the original platform is continued with the same sandy material and same height; then the layer number 4 was built of blue muck similar to that of number 2 in the original mound. Having obtained the desired form, layer number 5, which is six feet thick and of blue clay mixed with sand, was thrown over the whole. But this was evidently formed after an interval of usage of the original double mound, as northwest of the center and in the lower part of this layer (at *n*) were found charred timbers lying horizontally, and one post (*b*) standing erect, resembling the timber post found in number 3."

Although the remainder of the description is interesting, this will suffice for our present purpose. There can be no doubt that these poles and this burnt clay were the remains of houses, the fire having been smothered by dirt thrown over it before the timber portion was entirely consumed.

The reader will probably remember the description given by Professor Swallow of "a room formed of poles, lathed with split cane, plastered with

clay, both inside and out, forming a solid mass," which he found in a mound in Southeastern Missouri. This plastering was, as he says, left rough on the outside but smooth on the inside, and some of it was burned as red and hard as brick, while other parts were only sun-dried. Some of the rafters and cane laths were found decayed, some burnt to coal, and others all rotted but the bark. The inner plastering was found flat on the floor of the room as it had *fallen in*, and *under* it were the bones and pots.\*

The discoveries made by Professor Swallow, Col. Norris, Mr. Thing and Dr. Palmer all harmonize, and show beyond a reasonable doubt that the layers of burned clay so frequently found in southern mounds are the plastering of houses which have been destroyed by fire. The numerous instances of this kind which have now been brought to light, and the presence of skeletons under the ashes and clay, render it probable that the houses were abandoned at the death of a member of the family, burned over them after they had been buried or covered with earth (for the bones are very rarely charred), and that immediately a mound was thrown over the ruins. It also appears that in some cases the mound so made was afterward used as a dwelling site by the same or other people.

As bearing upon this subject I call attention to a few descriptions of Indian houses given by some of the early writers.

La Harpe, speaking of the tribes in some parts of Arkansas, says: "The Indians build their huts dome-fashion out of clay and reeds." Schoolcraft says the Pawnees formerly built similar houses. In Ibberville's "Journal" it is stated that the cabins of the Bayougoulas were round, about thirty feet in diameter, and plastered with clay to the height of a man. Adair says the winter cabins or "hot-houses" of the Cherokees and several other tribes were circular and covered six or seven inches thick with tough clay mixed with grass.

Father Gravier, speaking of the Tounicas, says: "Their cabins are round and vaulted. They are lathed with cane and plastered with mud from bottom to top within and without, with a good covering of straw."

Henri de Tonti—the real hero of the French discoveries on the Mississippi—says the cabins of the Teusas were square, with the roof dome-shaped, that the walls were plastered with clay to the height of twelve feet, and were two feet thick.

\* I may as well add here that I have examined in person one of these clay-beds found near the surface of a large mound, and that specimens of those found by three Bureau assistants named are now in the National Museum, also specimens of the charred grass or straw of which Dr. Palmer speaks.

Numerous other references to the same effect might be given, but these are sufficient to show that the remains found in the mounds of the Southwest are precisely what would result from the destruction by fire of the houses in use by the Indians when first encountered by the Europeans.

Combining the testimony furnished by the mounds with the historical evidence—which the close agreement between the two certainly justifies—we learn that the houses of the mound-builders were built of wooden materials, or wood and clay combined, and were of at least two forms, circular and rectangular; that the fire was usually placed in the center, and the smoke allowed to escape through an opening at the top; that in the southern sections they were usually plastered with clay and thatched with straw or grass, and that the plastering was often ornamented by stamping it with a stamp made of split cane, and in some cases painted red. Professor Swallow noticed this color on the plastering of the burned room he discovered. I have also detected a coat of paint on some of the pieces which have been received at the National Museum.

The facts brought to light in regard to the ancient works in the southern part of the United States, by the investigations of the Bureau of Ethnology, prove beyond question that a large portion of these tumuli were erected for the purpose of being used as dwelling sites, or the location of temples, council houses, or other public buildings, and confirm the statements made in reference to them by the narratives of DeSoto's expedition.

*Cyrus Thomas*

## TRIBUTE TO GEORGE W. LANE

### LATE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. George W. Lane died at his home in New York, Sunday morning, December 30, 1883. The radical hold which he gained over the men and institutions of his city create for him a deserved place in a magazine of history. If he did not directly determine events, he determined men, and so worked at the root of events and at the heart of his times.

A chronicle of his life would be interesting; a register of the interests which he promoted would be instructive. It is significant to be told that he was President of the Chamber of Commerce, member of the Aqueduct Commission (made such by act of Legislature); that he was connected with an almost indefinite number of monetary, charitable and religious institutions. But a great deal more to the point is the character itself of the man, out of which all these divers and diverse lines of activity with such effect and such naturalness flowed.

For the ordinary run of character analysis answers the purpose. As a rule, the meaning of a man is lodged mainly in some special proclivity or aptitude. The average man is a fragment—some specific peculiarity set loose and incarnated. The peculiarity of Mr. Lane was that he was not peculiar. His eccentricity lay in his concentricity—in the balancing of dissimilar aptitudes and the equipoise of complementary elements. Synthesis is a difficult matter; but if I were to venture upon it, and were to attempt to specify the four quadrants whose combination in Mr. Lane forms the most perfect circle of human character that I have ever known, I should say—Will, Love, Sense, and Fidelity; neither of them in its separateness, but all of them in their conjunction and interdependence. We have used the illustration of the quadrant and circle: but every circle implies a center around which the quadrants are drawn. That in Mr. Lane, around which everything that was constituent of him centered, was his fellowship with his Heavenly Father. Mr. Lane was a Christian. That was the core-fact of the man. The religious element was not in him an affix, an addendum. It was an ingrained matter, co-extensive with him. Touch Mr. Lane at any point, and you found him a Christian just at that point. I have specified four prominent elements in his character. His Christianity made itself felt as a working factor in each of those four elements, penetrating his will and softening it; permeating his affections and chastening them;



busying itself with his intelligence and clarifying it; entering into his fidelity and hallowing it. The drop of water is not part hydrogen and part oxygen, but all of it is both. So in the character we are considering, it is not that a part of it is secular and a part religious; all of it was both. No blade so fine can be introduced into his character as to divide between its secular and its Christian threads. Therefore he never looked out of place. Whether handling the city's money, presiding at the dinner of the Chamber of Commerce, or sitting at the Lord's table and distributing the bread and wine, he was felt to be in his element. And all of this thorough and constant working in him of the religious element admits of precise explanation.

Mr. Lane was converted. His conversion was as definite a fact in his life as his birth. At the age of about thirty his robust will yielded itself to God in one final act of absolute surrender. He was not converted by installments. He was henceforth God's man. Standing in this personal relation to God, duty always meant with him something divine, something which left him no option in the matter. Any position which he felt himself called to fill was with him a divine calling. God was at his elbow. Whatever he did in that position, therefore, he did as for God, and was therefore always in his place. He was a beautiful incarnation of the old doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. It was his meat to do the will of God. A gentleman who for forty-five years had stood in intimate business relations with him, whose business transactions with him amounted to millions of dollars, said: "In looking over this whole period of almost half a century there is not a speck upon Mr. Lane's dealings with me that I would wish to erase." He had convictions then, and the courage of his convictions. Because others thought as he did made him no stronger, and because others did not think as he did made him no weaker. Being the only one to hold a particular view never made him lonely. He was made of the stuff that the martyrs were made of.

Mr. Lane was a safe counselor. The severe truthfulness of the man made it easy for him to find the truth, and in a short and simple way to state it. His mind moved directly to the root of a matter. His Christianity emptied him of self, so that his thoughts were left to work in the clear. Prejudice was shut out of conference. It held of him what the Lord said of himself: "My judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will;" and his conclusions and findings were regularly justified by the issue. Integrity clarified intelligence. His judgment was continually sought in contested cases. He was recognized to have what David calls "truth in the inward parts." This singleness of eye was in him a genius for deciding

cases on their merits. To a life-long and intimate friend he said: "I would decide a case against you as soon as against anybody else."

Mr. Lane illustrates the fact that a man can live a long and active business life in New York, and keep his heart pure and tender, and his conscience undefiled. He handled gold without his mind becoming yellowed by it, or his affections metallized. He was like the sunshine which brightens the soil without becoming soiled by it. The ship is not wrecked by getting into the water, but by the water's getting into the ship. He illustrates the fact that simple manhood, unrecommended by high lineage, material inheritance, or scholarly endowment, will win its way and create for itself a place, a place that it is not in the scope of birth to arrogate, culture to reach, nor money to buy. Sweet integrity is easily imperial. The profoundest tribute yet offered to Mr. Lane's memory—far in advance of all eulogies spoken or speakable—was the audience gathered in the Madison Square Church on the day of his funeral,—a solid phalanx of strong heads and snowy hairs, a silent confession to the kingliness of goodness.

His life from day to day was of more value than any oral preachment can be as an exposition of the Gospel. He illustrates the Gospel because he was himself the product of the Gospel. And the Gospel is worth what it will produce. A tree is known by its fruits. Grandeur is not the child of delusion. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. When Atheism, Agnosticism, or Infidelity, either one of them, will produce a Geo. W. Lane, then I will pause and review my creed.

His last service was one of hospitality. That was his life—to add to men. Always busy but always had time. For him to diffuse light was as natural as for a candle: to diffuse freshness as natural as for a fountain. He was master of us because he was so thoroughly our servant. And now there remains to us this great comfort, that though he has done so much for us that his departure is an unspeakable bereavement, yet the more he has done for us the better we can do without him. In all these years he has been making, in the lives of those that stood near him, quiet deposits of power. That power survives, the inalienable possession of every circle in which he has moved, a part of the permanent fund of every institution in which he has worked. He has been all these years sounding key-notes. The hand which sounded the notes has fallen, but the tones he struck ring yet, and the music goes on in the key that he set, and the meter that he marked.

*C. H. Parkhurst*

# THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT \*

## WITH PEDIGREE

### I

#### PREFATORY

For the following sketch I have been favored with the use of all the family papers preserved by several generations of the Griswolds of Blackhall ; together with some interesting original papers of the Rev. George Griswold of Giant's Neck, now owned by Deacon George Griswold of Niantic ; and with some notes for family history by James Griswold, Esq. of Lyme.

I have also had several valuable documents copied for me from the Probate Records of New London and the State Archives at Hartford, the latter through the courtesy of Charles J. Hoadley, Esq., State Librarian. An examination of the collections on the Griswold family made by the late Rev. F. W. Chapman of Rocky Hill, Conn., which were put into my hands by his son Mr. Henry A. Chapman of Hartford, has led to one important discovery, and a few private letters from the father have given me some valuable hints.

Some of the statements respecting Edward Griswold and his descendants were furnished by Judge S. O. Griswold of Cleveland, Ohio, and Hon. William H. Buell of Clinton, Conn., both of whom descend from him. At home I have had a continual adviser and assistant in my wife, who, being of Griswold descent, had, with wonted enthusiasm and perseverance, collected many facts of the family history, and corresponded in our own country and abroad with reference to it, long before it began to be a subject of interest to me for her sake. The printed sources of information, so far as known, have been, of course, freely drawn upon.

It must be understood, however, that I have not undertaken to write a complete genealogy of the Griswolds ; my paper has reference, especially, to the male line, and to those of the name most closely associated with Lyme, and was originally intended for the use of a limited family circle—not for the public eye.

The imprints in the notes are in all cases those of the particular *volumes* referred to.

The earliest English settlements on the Connecticut River were nearly contemporaneous, of the same parentage, being all offshoots from the Bay Plantation, and bound together by many ties of intercourse and dependence. It was about the year 1635 that Wethersfield, Windsor, Hartford, and Saybrook were first settled. The latter had its origin in a fortification built by Lion Gardiner, a military engineer from England (who had in that capacity served the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries), and commanded by John Winthrop the younger, under a commission from the Warwick Patentees. This barely secured the site for English occupation against Dutch encroachments. The new cluster of settlements thus formed on the beautiful banks of the Connecticut, winding amid rich meadows ready to the hand of the husbandman, and primitive forests which were stocked with all sorts of game valuable for skins, and opening an attractive

\* Copyright, 1884, by Edward Elbridge Salisbury.

pathway for trade, both inland and abroad, naturally drew the attention of those in the mother-country whom the usurpations and oppressions of the later Stuarts had forced to make new homes for themselves in these western wilds.

Two brothers of the name of Griswold, Edward and Matthew, came to America "about the year 1639," and settled at Windsor, Conn. The date of their emigration being fundamental, and all that relates to it, and to years immediately following, being of interest, I quote from affidavits of these two brothers, sworn to May 15, 1684, as follows:

"The testimony of Edward Griswold, aged about 77 years, is, that about the year 1639 Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Whiteing (deceased) was undertaker for a shipp in England, in which shipp I came to New England . . . and at that time many passengers came ouer, severall of which settled at Windsor, and a gennerall expectation there was at that time, as appeared by discourse, of many more passengers to come, and some of note . . . by which meanes land at Windsor, near the towne and redy for improuement, was at a high price. . . . But afterward people that were expected out of England not coming in such numbers as was looked for, and some returning to England,\* and others remoueing to the seaside, the lands at Windsor fell very much in price." . . .

"The testimony of Mathew Griswold, aged about 64 years, is, that John Bissell, sometimes of Windsor now deceased, did offer to sell mee al that part of Mr Ludlowe's accomodations, both of houseing and lands, which hee bought of Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Whiteing (as hee told mee) which lay on the west side Connecticut Riuer in the townshipp of Windsor . . . and I beeing not accomodated to my mind where I then liued at Saybrook, and haueing kindred of my owne and my wiues at Windsor, was willing to dwell at Windsor . . . also I went and aduised with my father-in-law Mr. Wolcot, who told mee I had bid high enoffe. . . . Further I testifie that, when I came ouer to New England about the year 1639, land was at an high price, and that the price thereof fell very much in some yeares after . . ."

It will be observed that these documents give us, also, approximately, the important dates of birth of the two brothers—the elder, aged about seventy-seven in 1684, must have been born about 1607; and the younger, about sixty-four years old in 1684, was, of course, born about 1620.

The eminent antiquary Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, says he "can hardly doubt" that a brother of Edward and Matthew was "Francis Grissell" [or "Mr. Grissell"], to whom reference is made in the Calendar of State Papers (Minutes of a Committee for Providence Plantation), as having applied in England, from July 1635 to Feb. 1636, for remission of the cost of transportation of himself and wife to New Eng-

\* Plainly, in consequence of the rising power of the Parliament, before the civil war had operated to drive Englishmen away from their mother country.

† Conn. State Archives, Private Controversies, ii. docc. 203, 204. *MS.*

VOL. XI.—No. 2.—9

land,\* whence he infers "that Francis Grissell (Griswold) had been at, and had returned to Great Britain from, Providence Island, before July 1635."† Whether it be true or not that this person was a brother of our Edward and Matthew Griswold, which I leave for others to determine, certain it is that Edward had a son named Francis, who will be spoken of further on; and Mr. Chapman entertained the opinion, though it does not appear on what ground, that the grandfather of Edward and Matthew was a Francis Griswold, said to have been of Lyme Regis, Co. Dorset, who had a son George, the father of our two brothers of Windsor.‡

From a valuable document in the New London Probate Office (relating to a lawsuit in which the only son of our first Matthew Griswold was involved), we obtain proof that, beside Edward and Matthew, there was another brother, Thomas by name, who remained in the old English homestead; and the same paper gives documentary evidence as to what part of England the emigrants came from. It deserves to be quoted here, exactly and in full:

"Georg Griswold, aged about 67 years, testifyeth as followeth—that in his youthfull years he lived with his father in England, in a town called Keillinsworth§ in Warrackshire; he did severall times since hear his father Edward Griswold say that the house they then lived in, and lands belonging thereto, was his brother Mathew Griswold's; and have lately seen a letter under the hand of Thomas Griswold of Keillinsworth above<sup>sd</sup>, directed to his brother Mathew Griswold aforesaid, wherein the said Thomas Griswold intimated that he did then live in the above said house belonging to his said brother Mathew Griswold aforesaid.

"May 9<sup>th</sup> 1700. George Griswold appeared before me in Hartford, and made oath to y<sup>e</sup> above testimony."

"JOSEPH CURTISS, Assistant."

With regard to the ancestry of the three brothers whom we thus distinctly trace, we have no certain information reaching beyond their father. A deposition lately found among the papers of Rev. F. W. Chapman, "a full and true copy" of an original now lost, enables me to begin the Griswold pedigree one generation further back than it has been hitherto traced. This valuable document is in these words:

"The testimony of Captain George Griswold, aged about 72 years, and the testimony of Mr. John Griswold, aged about 69 years, they both being sons of George Griswold, The

\* Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. 1574-1660. London, 1860. pp. 211, 215, 221.

† Private letter of Dec. 30, 1881.

‡ Private letter of March 12, 1874. The same letter expresses the belief, without giving any good reason for it, however (as appears from another letter of June 4, 1874), that Michael Griswold of Wethersfield was also a brother of Edward and Matthew; but a document, which will be quoted presently, seems to imply that the father of Edward and Matthew had only one other son.

§ In Queen Elizabeth's time Kenilworth was called Killingworth.



Deponents being both of Windsor in the county of Hartford and colony of Connecticut in New England, is as follows :

"Viz., that our Grandfather's name was Edward Griswold, and it was formerly and has ever since been always accepted and reputed that our said Grandfather's father's name was George Griswold, and the said George Griswold our Great Grandfather had three sons, the eldest named Edward, the second named Matthew, and the third or youngest son named Thomas, and the said Edward the eldest son, and the said Matthew\* the second son, came into New England from Killingsworth in Warwickshire in England; and in all our discourses amongst the families of said Griswolds in New England, together with other elderly observing gentlemen, they are and have ever been so accepted and reputed to be, without contradiction or gainsaying, according to the best of our remembrance.

"And the Deponents further add and say that the above named Edward Griswold's eldest son has always been called and reputed to be Francis Griswold, without any contradiction or gainsaying as aforesaid that we know of.

"Windsor in Hartford county in Connecticut, New England, personally appeared on the 19th day of January Anno Dom. 1737-8, Captain George Griswold and John Griswold the above named Deponents, and made solemn Oath, in due form of law, to the truth of the above written testimony, before me

HENRY ALLYN

Justice Peace."\*

But who was this George Griswold, the father of Edward, Matthew and Thomas, we know not. It has been assumed that our Griswolds belonged to the heraldic family of Greswolds of Solihull, near Kenilworth, Co. Warwick, one of whom, Humphrey Greswold, deceased in 1746, unmarried, was the first of this family who possessed Malvern Hall;† and the arms of that family: *Arg. a fesse Gu. betw. 2 greyhounds current Sa.*, have been used as of right belonging to Griswolds of America.

\* This copy was given to Mr. Chapman by Mr. J. S. Griswold of Benson, Vt., whose brother Mr. W. D. Griswold, now of St. Louis, Mo., writes to me respecting the original paper as follows: "As regards the original paper, I remember to have seen it on occasion of a visit I made to my native home in 1841. My Father, then alive, showed it to me, and I read it over and over with great interest, and I then took a copy of it, which I think I have sent to some inquirer, without retaining a copy of the copy. The affidavit was evidently taken in aid of some pending legal proceeding, or in anticipation of some legal use. *It was inherited by my Father with the old papers and muni-ments of his Father*, and that is all that can be said of its history." In another letter Mr. Griswold says: "I read it over repeatedly, and critically observed the paper, old and faded, and the writing of style verifying its age." These two Griswold brothers are descendants of Edward Griswold, through his son Francis.

† The late Col. Chester, to whom the question of the English origin of the Griswolds was referred some years since, wrote from London: "I thought I had already explained about the Griswolds of Malvern Hall. The first one who had Malvern Hall was Humphrey G. (son of Rev. Marshall G., descended from the family at Solihull, Co. Warwick), who died unmarried in 1746. It then went to his brother John, who died without issue in 1760, when that branch of the family, in the male line, became extinct. Malvern then went to their sister Mary, wife of David Lewis Esq., then to their son Henry Greswold Lewis, who died in 1829 without issue. Malvern then went to his very distant kinsman Edmund Meysey Wigley, who assumed the name of Greswold. He died unmarried in 1833, and Malvern then went to his paternal uncle Henry Wigley, who also assumed the surname of Greswold, but who never had a drop of Greswold blood in his veins."

A statement has gained some credence, that our Griswold brothers came from Lyme Regis, Co. Dorset, probably for no better reason than because this would afford a plausible explanation of the name of Lyme in Connecticut. But careful search in the records of Lyme Regis, by the Rector in 1874, failed to show that any person of the name ever lived there; while the affidavits of Edward and Matthew Griswold fully establish the fact that their old home was at Kenilworth, Co. Warwick. Now, the Visitation of Warwickshire made in 1619, published by the Harleian Society, gives us twelve generations of the Greswold family, of which the first-named representative was John Greswold "of Kenelworth," who married the daughter of William Hugford of Hulderley Hall in *Solihull*; and the Greswolds continued to be seated at Kenilworth down to the time of the last male descendants mentioned in 1619.\* Moreover, John Greswold, of the fifth generation in this Visitation, is named *Griswold* in the Visitations of Nottingham for 1569-1614 published by the Harleian Society, where the marriage of his daughter Allice to Thomas Dabridgcourt is recorded—showing that the two forms of the name were at an early period interchangeable†; and, what is still more, in the Visitation of Warwickshire for 1619 occurs the name of a George Griswold, in the latest generation there recorded, who may possibly have been the father of our two emigrants. But diligent investigations by Colonel Chester (to whom, however, the fact of the immediate parentage of the emigrants was unknown), by the Rector of Kenilworth in 1874, and among American records, have not enabled us as yet to trace back the line of descent of our Edward and Matthew beyond their father. The parish-register of Kenilworth prior to 1630 was destroyed under Cromwell, and the name of Greswold does not occur in it after 1651. So that, while there is ground for believing that the emigrant brothers belonged to the heraldic family of Greswolds, or Griswolds, there seems to be little probability of its being proved. Colonel Chester concluded that they may have come of a younger branch of that family, but says: "The only possible remaining chance there is for discovering any thing further would be an examination of the wills in the local registry of Lichfield."

\* The Publications of the Harl. Soc., vol. xii. The Visitation of the County of Warwick in the year 1619. . . . Ed. by John Fetherston. . . . London, 1877, pp. 60-62.

† The Publications of the Harl. Soc., vol. iv.—The Visitations of the County of Nottingham in the years 1569 and 1614. . . . London, 1871, p. 38.

The parish-records of Solihull, as appears from recent obliging letters of the present Rector, show the following varieties in the form of the name at the dates mentioned:

1539—Griswoolde, 1540—Gryswoolde, 1541—Gresolde, 1547—Grissolde, 1555—Greyswoolde, 1561—Grisolde, 1562—Gryswoolde and Gryssold, 1570—Griswolde, 1571—Gressolde, 1575—Greswolde, 1579—Greswoolde, 1590—Greswold, 1593—Gryswold, 1624—Greswold, and Griswold, 1627—Griswoold, 1636—Griswold. For some of these, however, the parish-clerk alone may be responsible.

As has been noticed, our Griswold family possessed lands in fee in England, both before and after the emigration of Edward and Matthew; and we shall see that not only was Matthew (who, having come to the New World in his youth, and married a daughter of the first Henry Wolcott, might be supposed to have been trained by the necessities of colonization, or aided by his father-in-law) prominent in the public affairs of Connecticut from the first; but his elder brother, also, who was thirty-two years old at his emigration, took at once a position of commanding influence. They would seem to have been "born to rule." Besides, if it be a principle of heredity that the characteristics, physical, intellectual, moral and social, of a strongly marked ancestor are repeated in his descendants, so that from the offspring may be inferred what was the progenitor, then, apart from all we know of the first generation of the Griswolds of New England, the qualities developed by succeeding generations of the family have been an accumulating proof that its emigrant ancestors were high-minded, intelligent, Christian "gentlemen." The large views of Matthew Griswold, very much in advance of his time, are illustrated by a record which has just come to light, as follows:

"April 23<sup>d</sup> 1663, Hannah Griswold, wife of Matthew Griswold, has a portion of meadow-land in Windsor, Great Meadow, Twelve acres more or less. . . . this comes to her as part of her portion that fell to her by the Last will of her brother Christopher Wolcott Dec<sup>d</sup>, out of his Estate that was to be Devided among his Relations; and this parcell of meadow is allowed by her Husband Matthew Griswold to be Recorded and made over to Hannah his wife, to remain to her and her children, and their Dispose, forever."\*

We can only wonder at the enterprise, courage and energy of these early pioneers. Matthew Griswold, at the early age of nineteen years, came with his brother Edward to Windsor, among its earliest settlers, then struck out from there to find a new home in Saybrook; then, as if that spot had become too narrow, crossed the "Great River," and made his final settlement as the first man who took up land in Lyme. Perhaps this may have been partly due to the English passion for landed possessions—also, perhaps, to a hereditary longing which could be fully gratified only by first occupation.

In this connection I may most appropriately dispose of a statement, distinctly made or hinted at in different quarters, that the first Matthew Griswold followed the trade of a stone-cutter. The only proofs alleged of this are, first, a receipt given by him, Apr. 1, 1679, now registered at Saybrook, for seven pounds sterling, "in payment for the tombstone of the lady Alice Bottler [Lady Fenwick], late of Saybrook;" and, secondly, the tradition

\* Copied by the Town Clerk of Windsor from Records there, in August, 1882.

that the tombstone of his father-in-law, Henry Wolcott of Windsor (who died in 1655)—similar in form and material to that of Lady Fenwick—was obtained by his agency.\* As to the receipt, nothing is more likely than that he gave it for money which he had long before paid out as Agent to Gov. Fenwick; and as to the Wolcott tradition, that by no means necessarily means that the monument of Henry Wolcott was a work of his hands. Still, it is possible that Matthew Griswold may have learned the art of stone-cutting in preparation for his emigration—perhaps as a disguise in aid of his expatriation; and that he practiced the art occasionally, as the exigencies of colonial life in a new country made it useful for him to do so, is also possible. But that stone-cutting was his occupation, or trade, there is not the slightest reason to believe; indeed, the supposition is at variance with all that we know of his prominence in the public affairs of his time, and inferable education, or are led to conjecture, from his large acquisitions of land at an early period, of his having given himself, from the first, to agriculture. Evidently he was skilled in laying foundations, and in sculpturing monuments, but it was with materials, and in forms, far more enduring than stone—nay, more lasting than the brass of the mechanic artificer: "Monumentum aere perennius."

But from these general considerations I must now return, to record more in detail what we know of the three brothers, Edward, Matthew and Thomas Griswold, of whom, as has been said, the first two emigrated to America in 1639, and the other remained in England. As to this Thomas, we know, by the deposition of 1737-38 above cited, that he was the youngest son—born, therefore, not earlier than about 1621—but neither tradition nor records give us any additional facts respecting him. The yet existing Kenilworth records (as appears from Mr. Chapman's papers) make mention of "Hanna the daughter of Thomas Grissold," buried Apr. 8, 1632, of "Mary the daughter of Thomas Grissold," buried Apr. 20, 1634, and of "Thomas the sonne of Thomas Grissold & Elianor his wife . . . baptized July y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> Anno Dni 1636;" also, of a "Thomas Grissold," whose wife Joane was buried Jan. 28, 1632 (or 1633), and a "Thomas Grissold," married to Catharine Norris June 11, 1635—that is, certainly of two, if not more, separate Thomases. But neither of them could have been the brother of Edward and Matthew, because Matthew himself was not more than about sixteen years old at the latest of these dates. On the other hand, he may have been either a "Thomas Grissold," who was buried May 5, 1644, or a Thomas, named in the records, who had a son

\* History of New London . . . By Frances Manwaring Caulkins. New London, 1852, pp. 173-74; and Memorial of Henry Wolcott . . . New York, 1881, pp. 12, note, and 32.

Matthew born Mar. 1, 1649. The parish-records of Kenilworth, it will be seen, name at least three distinct Thomas Griswolds.

To come, then, to the two emigrants, a tradition remains to be alluded to, that their emigration was in company with the Rev. Ephraim Huet of Windsor, who "had been a minister of Wraaxall, near Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, was proceeded against by Archbishop Laud, 1638, for neglect of ceremonies, came next year." \* Savage thought this tradition plainly erroneous, for the reason that George, son of Edward, Griswold, in his deposition above cited, testified that he lived with his father in England "in his youthfull years," which, according to Savage, must have extended later than to the year 1639. But the year of Huet's emigration, this very year 1639, being now fixed, independently, as the date of the emigration of Edward and Matthew Griswold, the tradition of their companionship with Huet gains in probability; while Savage's objection is quite set aside by the fact that George Griswold, having been sixty-seven years old in 1700 (as he himself affirmed), was born about 1633, not in 1638—as Savage says—and could, therefore, well speak, when advanced in life, of a time prior to 1639 as having been in the days of his youth.

Edward Griswold, the eldest of the two emigrant brothers, also lived the longest, dying in 1691, as is said, † in his eighty-fourth year. A colonial record of 1649 shows him to have been, at that time, still residing in Windsor, where his sons Francis and George likewise had their families. ‡ It is believed that he removed to Killingworth, now Clinton, Conn., in 1663, and gave to this New England town the name of his old place of residence in Warwickshire. He was a Deputy to the General Court, before this, in 1662. Under the year 1667, as "Mr. Edw. Grissell," he is enrolled a Deputy, and, as "Mr. Edward Griswold," a Commissioner "for Kenilworth." § In 1674 there was a grant made to him of two hundred acres of land, which were laid out, after long delay, in 1682, "at the north end of Lyme bounds." || As "Mr. Edward Griswold" he was Deputy "fr. Killingworth" in 1678, when he was also nominated for election as Assistant, and as Commissioner; represented his town in every Court held from that year on to 1689; and was, during this period, repeatedly made Commissioner. ¶ In 1678 he was on a committee for establishing a Latin School

\* General. Dict. . . . By James Savage. Boston, 1860, ii. 490.

† Savage's General. Dict., ut supra, ii. 316.

‡ Public Records of the Col. of Conn. . . . 1636-1665. Hartford, 1850, p. 196.

§ Public Records . . . 1665-1677. . . . Hartford, 1852, pp. 58, 63.

|| Id., p. 240, and note.

¶ Public Records. . . . 1678-1689. . . . Hartford, 1859, pp. 1, 3, 5, 26, 48, 49, 75, 76, 97, 121, 139, 140, 169, 195, 230, 237, 251.



in New London.\* He was the first deacon of the church of Killingworth.

He was twice married: first, in England, to Margaret —, who died Aug. 23, 1670, † and secondly, in 1672 or 1673, to the widow of James Bemis of New London. "Before coming to Windsor he had Francis, George, John and Sarah, probably all born in England, and he had at Windsor" three sons and three daughters—all, as appears by their days of birth or baptism recorded at Windsor, by his first marriage. ‡

His son Francis is found to have been at Saybrook in 1655–56, § but was one of the first proprietors of Norwich, settled in 1660, taking "an active part in the affairs of the plantation;" || and from 1661, inclusive, to 1671, was a Deputy to the General Court. ¶ He died in 1671, \*\* leaving several children, of whom a daughter, Margaret (b. 1668), married Thomas Buckingham, son of the Rev. Thomas, of Saybrook, in 1691. ††

George, son of Edward, Griswold, was a freeman of Windsor in 1669, ‡‡ and seems to have lived there permanently. He died in 1704, §§ having had sons and daughters. John (b. 1668), son of George, was father of Isaac (b. 1718), who was father of Abiel (b. 1755), who was father of Origen (b. 1785), who was father of Judge S. O. Griswold, now of Cleveland, Ohio. Judge Griswold and his sisters now own a tract of land at Windsor which once belonged to their ancestor George.

Edward Griswold's third son, John, who was born in England, died in 1642; but he had another son of the same name, born in Windsor in 1652, whose grandson Josiah (son of Daniel, b. 1696) was the maternal grandfather of Hon. William H. Buell, now of Clinton, Conn. A daughter of Edward Griswold, Deborah (b. 1646), who married Samuel Buell in 1662, "was the ancestral mother of all the Buells in Killingworth (Clinton), all the Buells east of Connecticut River, and nearly all of Litchfield, Conn." Her husband was the great-grandfather in the fourth degree of Hon. W.

\* History of Norwich. . . . By Frances Manwaring Caulkins. Published by the Author, 1866, p. 92.

† "Her gravestone stands in the Clinton Congregational Burying Ground, with the letters M. G., and is called the oldest monument."

‡ Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, ii. 316; and History of Anc. Windsor. . . . By Henry R. Stiles. . . . New York, 1859, p. 640. The existing records of Kenilworth give baptisms of children of Edward Griswold as follows: Sarah, 1631; George, 1633; Sarah, 1635; Liddia, 1637.

§ Caulkins' Hist. of Norwich, ut supra, p. 53.

| Id., p. 177.

¶ Id., p. 84.

\*\* Id., p. 132.

†† Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 640; and Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, i. 285.

‡‡ Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1665–1677. . . . Hartford, 1852, p. 519.

§§ Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 641.

H. Buell, so that the latter is descended on both sides from Edward Griswold of Killingworth. Edward Griswold's son John (b. 1652) had a son Samuel (b. 1685), whose daughter was the "Mary, daughter of Samuel Griswold Esq. of Killingworth," who married, in 1739, Elihu son of Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey of Durham, Conn., and was the mother of the late Judge Chauncey of New Haven.\*

Another son of Edward Griswold, named Joseph (b. 1647), † had a son Matthew (b. 1668), who had a son Matthew (b. 1718,) who had a son Elihu (named, perhaps, from Elihu Chauncey, the husband of his father's second cousin Mary Griswold) who was born about 1750—Dr. Elihu Griswold of Windsor, whose wife Mary (b. 1756) was a daughter of Dr. Alexander Wolcott, son of Gov. Roger Wolcott. ‡ Dr. Elihu Griswold removed to Herkimer County, N. Y., about the year 1800.

MATTHEW GRISWOLD, having come to Windsor, married, October 16, 1646, Anna daughter of the first Henry Wolcott of Windsor, an emigrant from Tolland, Co. Somerset, by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Saunders, of the adjacent parish of Lydiard St. Lawrence.§ Either before or after the date of his marriage he removed to Saybrook, in the capacity of Agent to Governor Fenwick. The exact year of his removal to the river's mouth cannot now be fixed, but he is said to have been the earliest actual occupant of land within the bounds of Lyme (set off as separate from Saybrook in 1665-66), implying that he had settled there long before this separation. Indeed, his original grant is believed to have emanated from Fenwick, || which would carry us back to 1645, at least, when Fenwick's rights under the Warwick Patent were extinguished by agreement with the colony of Connecticut. ¶ Another indication of his having very early become a resident of Saybrook is given by his testimony of 1684, quoted above; for in that he speaks of having thought to leave Saybrook and purchase land in Windsor ("beeing not accomodated to my mind where I then liued at Saybrook"), \*\* at a time when land up the river had depreciated in value by reason, as is plain enough, of the prevalence of Parliamentary rule in England lessening the inducements to emigration, before

\* See Memorials of the Chaunceys . . . By Wm. Chauncey Fowler. Boston, 1858, pp. 112-113.

† Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 640.

‡ Memorial of Henry Wolcott, ut supra, pp. 77 and 140-42.

§ Memorial of Henry Wolcott, ut supra, p. 11. The Wolcott family of Windsor were of the old English gentry.

|| Caulkins' History of New London . . . ut supra, p. 72.

¶ The History of Conn. . . . By G. H. Hollister. New Haven, 1855, i. 135.

\*\* See above, p. 121.

the progress of events in the old country, culminating in Cromwell's military usurpation, had again tempted the more conservative Englishmen to expatriate themselves—from all which it would appear that he was a resident of Saybrook as early as within the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, though after the middle of October, 1646, because he was already married when he contemplated returning to Windsor.

By the colonial records we find him at Saybrook, first, on the 20th of March, 1649-50, reference being made, under that date, to an answer to a "petition from the inhabitants of Saybrook, presented by Matthew Griswold and Tho. Leppingwell." \* He was a Deputy to the General Court in 1654. In the same year Major Mason was deputed to take with him "Matthew Griswold of Seabrooke," and "goe to Pequett and joyne with Mr. Winthrop to draw the line betwne Pequett and Vncus according to the bounds graunted that towne," . . . and indeavo<sup>r</sup> to compose differences bet: Pequett & Vncus in loue and peace."† At a Court held May 17th, 1660, it was "granted that y<sup>e</sup> Dep: Gouverno<sup>r</sup> & Math: Griswold shal lend vnto N. London two great Guns from Sea Brooke w<sup>th</sup> shot."‡ In 1661 he headed a committee "to try the bounds of N. London."§ Under the year 1663 it is recorded that "Matthew Griswold" and others were to lay out certain bounds "to p<sup>r</sup>uent future in-conueniences."|| About 1664-65, when Lyme was soon to be set off from Saybrook as a separate town, there arose a dispute between New London and Saybrook as to the westward extent of the former town—whether or not the land between Niantic Bay and Bride Brook, including Black Point and Giant's Neck, belonged to New London. This lasted for several years, when, at length, in 1671, "the town [of New London] annulled all former grants . . . except . . ." but set apart, at "our west bounds at Black Point," a tract of three hundred and twenty-five acres "for the use of the ministry forever," which same tract had been reserved, three years earlier, for the same use, by the town of Lyme. In August, 1671, "the people of both New London and Lyme were determined to mow the grass on a portion of the debatable land. . . . Large parties went out from both towns for the purpose, and, having probably some secret intimation of each other's design, they went on the ground at the same time. . . . The Lyme men, under their usual leaders, Matthew Griswold and William Waller, were in possession of the ground when the other party advanced. . . . Constables were in attendance on either side, and Messrs. Griswold and Palmes were in the commission of the peace, and could authorize warrants of apprehension on the spot. As

\* Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut. . . . 1636-1665. Hartford, 1850, p. 205.

† Id., p. 257.

‡ Id., p. 352.

§ Id., p. 366.

|| Id., p. 418.

the New London men approached, and, swinging their scythes, began to mow," the Lyme constable attempted to do his office, supported by his fellow-townsmen, "who came rushing forward waving their weapons;" and he succeeded; when "a general tumult of shouts, revilings, wrestlings, kicks and blows followed." A warrant was issued for the arrest of Griswold, "but he was not captured." The noisy encounter was terminated "by an agreement to let the law decide;" and the General Court ordered a division of the land in dispute, by which the matter was settled.\* Such, in substance, is the account of this affair given by the historian of New London, on the authority of testimony taken at the trial of the rioters in March, 1671-72. Family tradition among the Griswolds, however, runs to the effect that the rights of the respective parties were finally made to depend upon the issue of a personal combat between champions chosen on both sides, a son of our first Matthew Griswold, the second of the name, who was noted for his athletic form and great strength, being the representative of Lyme; and that the result was in favor of his town. But this tradition may be only a mythical amplification of the recorded historical facts.†

On the 13th of February 1665-66 the articles of separation between Saybrook and Lyme were signed by Matthew Griswold as one of the committee for the east side. In 1666 he and William Waller were ordered by the General Court "w<sup>th</sup>in the space of one month to send up to y<sup>e</sup> Treasurer a true valuation of all y<sup>e</sup> rateable estate of the persons that haue estate in that place called Lyme."‡ He was a Deputy to the General Court in 1667, § and again in 1668, his name having then, first, on the colonial records, the prefix of "Mr.," at that time distinctive of a "gentleman," which afterwards they always give to it. || He was chosen Commissioner for Lyme, in 1669, for the ensuing year; ¶ in 1676 was appointed with others "to signe bills in theire respectiue plantations, for what is due from the country;" \*\* and in 1677 was temporary Lieutenant of the train-bands of Lyme. †† In May 1678 he was a Deputy for Lyme; ‡‡ and the next year was appointed "to grant warrants and marry persons in Lyme for the year ensuing." §§ One hundred acres of land were granted to him by the General Court in 1681, "provided he take it up where it may not prej-

\* Caulkins' Hist. of New London, ut supra, pp. 166-69.

† The tradition is alluded to, as authentic history, by Dr. Dwight in his *Travels in New England*. New Haven and New York, 1821, ii. 522.

‡ Public Records of Conn. . . . 1665-1677. Hartford, 1852, p. 48.

§ Id., p. 70. || Id., p. 83. ¶ Id., p. 106. \*\* Id., p. 294. †† Id., p. 317.

‡‡ Public Records of Conn. . . . 1678-1689. Hartford, 1859, p. 3.

§§ Id., p. 27.

udice any former grants."\* He was a Deputy for Lyme in 1685. † On the 14th of May 1685 ("in the first year of our Sovereign Lord James the Second of England") the township of Lyme received a patent of confirmation, when it was granted, ratified and confirmed "unto Mr. Matthew Griswold, Sen<sup>r</sup>., Mr. Moses Noyes, Mr. Wm. Measure, Mr. Wm. Ely, Ln't Abraham Brunson, Sarg<sup>t</sup> Thomas Lee and John Lay, Jr., and the rest of the said present proprietors of the Township of Lyme, their heirs, successors and assigns forever." In 1686 the General Court confirmed to him and others a tract of land eight miles square, "lyeing and being near unto Connecticut River, about twelve or thirteen miles up the said River," which had been deeded to them in 1674 by "Captain Sannup (or Sanhop)" of the Niantics. ‡ The Court chose him in 1689 to be a Justice of the Peace, or Commissioner, for Lyme, and he held the same office the five following years, successively. §

To these notes from colonial records, mainly showing the public trusts conferred on the first Matthew Griswold, I add a few others from the public records of Lyme and the family-archives, illustrative of the growth of the Griswold landed domain within his time. He was reputed to be the richest man in Lyme. After his death the landed property of the family was increased yet more, until it came, at length, to be an estate almost baronial in extent, stretching along Long Island Sound and elsewhere. So early as in the third generation, as appears from a paper preserved in the family, dated November 2, 1724, Patience Griswold released to her brothers John and George, and to several sisters, her proportion of right and title, as one of her father's legatees, to "about four thousand five hundred and fifty acres, be y<sup>e</sup> same more or Less, situate, Lying and being in y<sup>e</sup> Township of Lyme." From a plea in answer to a charge of trespass, of the year 1781, by Governor Matthew Griswold—which is among the family papers—we learn that by "the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands in the Township of Saybrook . . . on or about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1655 . . . were duely Sever'd and Laid out to Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup>, then of s<sup>d</sup> Saybrook, who then was one of s<sup>d</sup> Proprietors . . . for him to hold in Severalty as part of his Share and Interest in s<sup>d</sup> Common and Undivided Lands," certain lands including a fishery at the mouth of the Connecticut River, on the east side:

"and the said Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup> soon after Enclosed the same in a Good Sufficient fence, and Continued so Siez<sup>d</sup> and Possess<sup>d</sup> of the place . . . till the time of his Death . . . and the same Lands . . . with all the appurtenances to the same belonging,

\* Public Records of Conn. . . . 1678-1689. Hartford, 1859, p. 93.

† Id., p. 181.

‡ Id., pp. 200-01.

§ Id., p. 252; and Public Records of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. Hartford, 1868, pp. 24, 43, 66, 92, 121.



by sundry legal Descents Descended from the s<sup>d</sup> Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup> to his Great Grandson Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Esq . . ."

There can be no doubt that this document refers to a part of the estate, at the mouth of the "Great River," which has been occupied by the family for seven generations; and it probably fixes the date of the first Matthew Griswold's beginning to occupy that site as a place of residence. This family home has been always known by the name of Blackhall—a memorial, doubtless, of some familiar English locality. There are several places of the name in England. Here, then, not in the rich alluvial meadows of Windsor, nor on the breezy, but sandy, plain of Saybrook—as limited to the western side of the Connecticut, after the setting off of Lyme—did Matthew Griswold fix his home. He settled upon the extreme point of land that stretches out between Connecticut River and Long Island Sound. It was all "made land," under the slow processes of nature: the sea had washed up its sand to meet, and be mingled with, the alluvial deposits brought down by the "Great River," in its progress from Canada to the sea. After all these centuries, the modeling of nature's forces still appears in the roll and swell of the ground, the hillocks and the eddies. This lower level is near the sea. The land begins to rise toward the north-west; the nearest spur of the northern mountains is to be seen just above the present railroad-station, and follows the Connecticut, with hills, sometimes rolling, often well-wooded, sometimes rocky and precipitous. Another range—the so-called Meetinghouse-Hills—further eastward, runs toward the north. Between these ranges is the tract on which the village of Lyme now stands, in a position much sheltered from the cold winds on the east, north and west, while lying open, on the south, to winter-sunshine and summer-breezes. Long Island stretching along, some miles away, between the main land and the open ocean, cuts off the violence of storms, while not shutting out the freshness of the ocean-air. The seasons are tempered along the shore. Frosts come late, and melt away earlier in the spring than in any other part of New England. The autumn usually lingers long under the golden light radiated from the sun, and reflected from the sea, which, from Newport all along the shore, fills the atmosphere with a halo of beauty.

The land-records of Lyme show an indenture of March 8, 1664, by which the first Matthew Griswold then had deeded to him

"A parcell of Land Lying and beeing uppon Blackhall point, *near the dwelling-house of Matthew Griswold aforesaid*\* . . . the upland beeing by estimation forty akers . . .

\* Showing that Matthew Griswold had a dwelling-house at Blackhall point before March 8, 1664. The original well belonging to it is believed to exist still, within the grounds of Mrs. Charles C.

with all the meadow or marsh-lands thereto belonging, part of which meadow is adjoining to the upland, and part thereof is lying and beeing on the southwest end of the Great Island or Marsh . . ."

Among the family-papers is an original deed of Thomas Leffingwell to Matthew Griswold, dated February 18, 1674, conveying his

"whole accommadations of Lands att Seabrooke, situate, lying and being on both sides of Connecticott River, except . . . The p'ticulars of that wch is sold unto the s<sup>d</sup> Mathew Griswell being as followeth: Imp<sup>rs</sup>, on the west side of the above s<sup>d</sup> River the whole right of Commonage belonging unto one hundred & fifty pound Allottment withe the ox-pastour, house & home-Lott; Sec<sup>d</sup>, on the east side of the s<sup>d</sup> River the whole accommadations belonging unto a two hundred pound Allottment, with such rights, Commonages, privileges & appurtenances as doe or shall belong thereunto, as also the whole right, title and interest unto and of one hundred pound Allottment which was bought of ffancis Griswell\* . . . only excepted twenty acers of Land of the first Division where the house stands . . . Resigned unto ffancis Griswell . . ."

Another private paper, dated July 11, 1674, records the laying out to Matthew Griswold of "fifty acres more or Less of upland . . . bounded west by the Sea and Bridebrook, East by the land bought of Richard Tousland, south by the Sea, north by the Commons," which seems to be a description of the promontory of Giant's Neck, the home of the Rev. George Griswold, of the third generation, and of a branch of the family descended from him. On the 28th of February, 1676, as Lyme records show, Matthew Griswold gave in a statement of certain lots of land then owned by him, as follows:

"Matthew Griswold Senior, his lotts in the first division of upland & meadow, *whar his new dwelling house doth stand*, Containing in Generall about one hundred and fourty aight akers and a half . . . and is bounded Northerly by Blackhall river, Easterly by the highway as far as his dwelling house, southerly by Sea, westerly by the Great River. . ."

Of the church, or ecclesiastical society, of Lyme, there are no existing records early enough to show whether the first Matthew Griswold was concerned, or took an interest, in the organization of either. But the First Church of Saybrook possessed, within a few years, a silver communion-cup which was his gift, as the inscription on it: "S. C. C. dono domini Matthew Griswold," attests; though the three initials at the head, probably standing for "Saybrook Congregational Church," would seem to prove the inscription to be of a much later date than the fact it commemorates.†

Griswold, a little to the south of whose residence the first dwelling of the first Matthew Griswold is said to have stood.

\* This is, undoubtedly, Francis son of Edward, mentioned p. 122.

† This cup now belongs to the family of the late Deacon William R. Clark of Saybrook.

"Matthew Griswold died in his house at Lyme [September 27, 1698], was buried at Saybrook; his gravestone is not to be found." Mrs. Griswold survived him, and was living September 17, 1700, when she and her son-in-law Abraham Brownson were both cited to appear before the New London County Court, as administrators of her husband's estate; but she had, probably, died before May 22, 1701, when Brownson was summoned alone as administrator, by the same Court. Her age in 1699 was seventy-nine years.\*

Matthew and Anna (Wolcott) Griswold had five children, named in the following order in a family-record: Sarah, Matthew, John, Elizabeth, Anna. But neither the family-papers nor the existing public records of Windsor, Saybrook, or Lyme (all of which have been consulted) give us their birth-days, excepting that of Matthew, who was born in 1653. This date being given, it is immediately evident that the order of names, at one point at least, should be changed; for, if Elizabeth was the second child born after Matthew, her birth could not have occurred before 1655, whereas she was first married in 1670—which is quite improbable. Accordingly, I shall assume an order which seems likely to be nearer the truth, as follows:

1. Elizabeth; born, according to corrected order of names, not later than 1652, and, very likely, from the date of her marriage (early marriages being then usual), in that year; who married: 1st, October 17, 1670, John Rogers of New London, Connecticut; 2d, August 5, 1679, Peter Pratt; and 3d, soon after 1688, Matthew Beckwith. She had two children by her first husband: 1. Elizabeth, born November 8, 1671; 2. John, born March 20, 1674; by her second husband she had a son Peter; and by her third marriage, a daughter, Griswold Beckwith.† In 1674 John Rogers, her first husband, departed from the established orthodoxy of the New England churches by embracing the doctrines of the Seventh Day Baptists; and, having adopted, later, "certain peculiar notions of his own," though still essentially orthodox as respects the fundamental faith of his time, became the founder of a new sect, called after him Rogerenes, Rogerene Quakers, or Rogerene Baptists. Maintaining "obedience to the civil government except in matters of conscience and religion," he denounced, "as unscriptural, all interference of the civil power in the worship of God."‡ It seemed proper to give here these particulars with regard to Rogers's views, because they were made the ground of a petition by his wife for a divorce,

\* See her testimony of Jan. 5, 1699, in Col. Records, Private Controversies, v. doc. 145, *MS.*

† Caulkins' Hist. of New London, *ut supra*, pp. 203-09.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 204-05.

in May 1675, which was granted by the General Court in October of the next year,\* and was followed in 1677 by another, also granted, for the custody of her children, her late husband "being so hettridox in his opinion and practice."† The whole affair reminds us of other instances, more conspicuous in history, of the narrowness manifested by fathers of New England towards any deviations from established belief; and of their distrust of individual conscience as a sufficient rule of religious life, without the interference of civil authority. There is no reason to believe that the heterodoxy "in practice," referred to in the wife's last petition to the Court, was aught else than a non-conformity akin to that for the sake of which the shores of their "dear old England" had been left behind, forever, by so many of the very men who forgot to tolerate it, themselves, in their new western homes. Of course, like all persecuted, especially religious, parties, the Rogerenes courted, gloried in, and profited by, distresses. John Rogers always claimed that the Court had taken his wife away from him without reason; both of his children eventually sympathized with their father, and lived with him.

2. MATTHEW (see below).

3. *John*; who died young, s. p.†

4. *Sarah*; born, according to corrected order of names, not earlier than 1655; who married, probably before 1675, Thomas Colton (not George, as commonly said) §, of Springfield, Mass., by whom she had a daughter Sarah, born September 25, 1678, || a "third daughter" Elizabeth, whose birth-day is unknown, and probably three other children.¶

5. *Anna*; born, according to the family-order of names, not earlier, and probably, from the date of her marriage, not later, than 1656;\*\* who married, September 2, 1674, Lieut. Abraham Brownson (as he himself spelt

\* Public Records of the Col. of Conn. . . . 1665-1677. Hartford, 1852, p. 292.

† Id., p. 326.

‡ Anna Griswold and John Griswold appear as witnesses to a deed of sale, among Lyme records, dated Apr. 26, 1681. The association of names and the date identify this John as the son of Anna Griswold—showing that, if not born later than 1654, he lived as long as to his twenty-seventh year.

§ Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, i. 438.

|| Id., ibid.

¶ Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Saybrook testified, Sep. 7, 1699, "that Mr. Griswold gave Elizabeth, third daughter of his daughter Sarah Colton deceased, her *one fifth* of moveable estate. . . ." See Col. Records, Private Controversies, v. doc. 156. MS.

\*\* Her gravestone, in the Meeting-House Hill Burying-Ground at Lyme, gives the date of her death (Apr. 13, 1721), without telling her age; but that of her husband, alongside of it, shows that he was seventy-two years old in 1719, when he died. This suits well enough with the supposition that she was born in 1656.

his name) of Lyme. With this marriage is connected the memory of an unhappy lawsuit, in which Abraham Brownson and his mother-in-law united against her only surviving son, the second Matthew Griswold. This suit has left its traces in various public records, but need not be recapitulated here. I notice it only for the reference made in an affidavit given in the case, and now preserved in the New London Probate Office, to certain evidences of property in England which were withheld from Matthew Griswold, as follows:

"Affid. before W<sup>m</sup> Ely, Justice of Peace, Nov. 15, 1699, by Henry Meriom—that Brunson told him he had a trunk of writings that were his father-in-law's, which he said that it would vex his brother Mathew Griswold very much. I told him that I heard so . . . and I told him that I believed that there was some weighty concerns in those papers, for money either in this country or in England; he answered that there were some great concerns in them, and that there were some papers there that said Griswold never knew of, and never should . . ."

This concealment of titles to estates was complained of to the General Court by Matthew Griswold, in 1700, "that all those deeds and writings which doe concern all or any of the lands that did belong to his father Mr. Mathew Griswold in his life-time, both in old England and new, are withheld, so that they cannot be entred upon the publick records. . . ." \* Had these papers been recorded, they would, in all probability, have thrown some light upon the English ancestry of the Griswolds.

Abraham and Anna (Griswold) Brownson had six children, from one of whom, a daughter Mary (b. 1680), descends the present Chief Justice of the United States, Judge Morrison Remick Waite, as follows: Mary Brownson married, August 26, 1704, Thomas Wait of Lyme (from Sudbury, Mass.); Thomas and Mary (Brownson) Wait had Richard (b. 1711), who married, Jan. 13, 1757, for his second wife, Rebecca eldest daughter of Capt. Joseph Higgins; Richard and Rebecca (Higgins) Wait had Remick (b. 1758), who married, in 1786, Susanna eldest daughter of Nathaniel Matson of Lyme, and sister of the mother of the late ex-Gov. Buckingham; Remick and Susanna (Matson) Wait had Henry Matson (b. 1787), who married, Jan. 23, 1816, Maria daughter of Col. Richard E. Selden of Lyme, and granddaughter of Col. Samuel Selden, a distinguished officer in the army of the Revolution; Henry Matson and Maria (Selden) Waite (so he spelt the name) had Morrison Remick (b. 1816), a graduate of Yale College in 1837, and now the prime expounder of American law. Henry Matson Waite was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut,

\* Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. . . . Hartford, 1868, p. 338.  
Vol. XI.—No. 2.—10



from 1854 till the constitutional limit of age obliged him to retire. "It was . . . in questions of law that his strength especially lay; and his legal erudition, patient research, power of discrimination and terseness of argument, were fully appreciated by an able and learned court."\*

MATTHEW Griswold,† the second of the name, born in 1653, followed the footsteps of his father in public life—the "Mr. Matthew Griswold" named in the colonial records of 1696, as Deputy and Commissioner, and in 1697 as Commissioner,‡ being probaby the son, and not the father (considering the age of the latter); and the son being certainly intended by the designation of "Mr. Mathew Griswold" as Deputy in 1704, 1707, 1708, and 1710.§ But his sphere seems to have been more private than that of his father. His father, a few days before his death, deeded to him large estates (not improbably in the spirit of English law, keeping landed property in the male line, and having respect to promogeniture), to which he himself added others by purchase. On the 21st of May, 1683, when about thirty years old, he married Phœbe Hyde, granddaughter of the first William Hyde of Norwich, Conn., and daughter of Samuel and Jane (Lee) Hyde.|| Our most interesting memorials of him are copies of writings of his own. Among these is the following incomplete letter to his sweetheart, revealing much of his character, and worthy to be preserved, not only for its sentiments, but also for the form in which they are expressed:

"DEARE HEART,

"Tender of my most unfayned and Intyre Love to you, hoping you are in good health, &c. Although my present Abilities of body and mind will nott allow mee to Write Largely unto you, as I sho<sup>d</sup> be glad to do, yet, having this opportunity, I was desirous to trouble you with a line or two—A Little to Remind you of the unexpected . . . unheard of . . . which I have mett with, In the management . . . the motion of Marriage mad by mee unto yo<sup>r</sup>selfe, which . . . so very strange that I am att a great Loss . . . of mind to think what the good pleasure of the Lord . . . case as to a fynale Issue; though this I must saye. If I thought you had not Reall Love and Affection for mee I should then think it rather my Duty to desist than to prosed; but as yet I am nott, nor can not bee,

\* Conn. Reports . . . of Cases . . . in the Supr. Court. . . By John Hooker. Hartford, 1870, xxxv. 597-99. Obit. Notice by Hon. C. J. McCurdy; and N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1870, xxiv. 101-05.

† From this point onward, especially, I have more or less drawn from Chancellor Walworth's treasury of genealogical lore, the Hyde Genealogy. This general acknowledgment is due. But family-papers, monumental records and public archives have enabled me sometimes to correct the Chancellor's statements, though such changes are for the most part made without notice.

‡ Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. Hartford, 1868, pp. 158-59; and Id., p. 201.

§ Id., 482; and Public Records . . . 1706-1716 . . . Hartford, 1870, pp. 20, 67, 169.

|| Hyde Genealogy . . . By Reuben H. Walworth . . . Albany, 1864, i. 10.

convinced that It is so, for, as God and thy owne conscience knows very well, when I was fully come to a conclusion in my own minde never to give myself nor you any farder Trouble in this matter, yo<sup>r</sup>selfe were pleased to tell mee that unexpected (though welcome) news, that you could not beare the thoughts of a fynale Separation ; and since, when you were last att our side of the River, you told mee the same thing, besides many things which you have in discourse told diverse of youre owne best freyn<sup>d</sup>s, which gave them grounds to conclude that you had special Love for my person. If I had thought that these things had been false, I must have Judged of . . . according to the . . . which would have commanded a period to all proceedings of this nature ; but contr<sup>y</sup> I believed thee, and accordingly concluded that hee which had Incindled this Love in Thee would increase It, and in his good Time bring us together in the Relation of man and wife, and hereupon gave my affections their full scope, concluding not only that I mite, but that it was my duty to, Love her intirely for whose Sake I should forsake Father and mother, and, as I tould you when I last spake with you, I shall nott att this time Release any promise (and you to mee, I should nott suffer for yo<sup>r</sup> Sake) which has past between us, though I cannot desire you should proseed to Joyne yourself In marriage with mee on the account of pittie. I desire to look to God who is able to give mee . . . to all his gracious promises which wo<sup>ld</sup> be matter of comfort . . . (for so they are . . . I would desire you<sup>ld</sup> not forgett how willing I have been, according to my Capparety and opportunities ; so then, in kindness and in way of Requital, faure mee with some Lynes.

I shall not enlarge att present, but, desiring that the Good Lord would graciously guide us to that which may tend to his gl<sup>o</sup>ry and our own everlasting peace, I take leave and Remain thine, and thine only, in the bonds of Intire Affection, M. G."

He also wrote verses, of limping gait, indeed, but which, not the less for that, remind one of hymns by famous poets of his age, such as Donne and Herbert, as if he might have been not unfamiliar with them. Two fragmentary specimens, inspired, as the foregoing letter was, by his love, must suffice:

" And grant me this  
Token of bliss—  
Some lynes for to peruse with speed,  
That may to mee  
A Token be  
You doe mee choose in very deed."

" Deceit is lothsome though in matters small,  
And guile in things which are but triviall ;  
But when the case amounts to such a height  
To be of such concernment & such weight,  
Those that will then Intentionally deceive  
Shall sure a curse as their Reward receive.

" Then find it true and nott a lie  
Hee's thy best friend that speaks out playne :  
My deare, take heed,  
And make great speed,

Lest thou give God no Just offence ;  
 Then for my part  
 A loving heart  
 From thee shall bee large Recompense.  
 . . . . .

But we have a fuller disclosure of character, as well as a story of romantic adventure, and of remarkable Providential overruling of evil for good, in a letter of his, dated November 8, 1712, at Lyme, to Rev. Cotton Mather, relating what had befallen his eldest son, thrown, by his own fault, amid the hazards of war of the the Spanish succession.\*

This very interesting document reads as follows (the italicizing being in the printed copy, used) :

"SIR,

"Tho' I am an Utter Stranger to You, yet, considering that it ought to be the chief and continual care of Every Man *To glorify God*, I thought it my Duty humbly to present unto you the following Narrative, desiring you to improve it as God shall direct.

"This last *October*, 'tis Five years since, my Eldest Son, having a vehement Desire to go to Sea, and concluding that I would not consent unto it, took an opportunity to make his Escape whilst I was attending the General Court. I used utmost Endeavours to recover him, but he got off from *Piscataqua*, Leaving me Sorrowfully to think what the Event might prove, of a *Child's wilful forsaking the Duty of his Relation and the Means of Grace, and ingulfing himself into the Temptations of a Wicked World*. And I was the more concerned because he had been but a very *Weakly Lad*. They had not been long at Sea before they were Surprized by a dreadful Storm, in the Height whereof the Captain ordered my Son to one of the Yard-Arms, there to Rectify something amiss, which whilst he was performing he wholly lost his Hold ; But catching hold on a loose Rope he was preserved. This proved a very Awakening Providence, and he Looked at the Mercy as greatly Enhanced by reason of his *Disorderly Departure*. Arriving at *Jamaica* he was soon Pressed aboard a *Man of War*, from whence, after diverse Months of *Hard Service*, he obtained a Release, tho' with the Loss of all the Little he had. He then fell in with a *Privateer*, on board whereof he was Exposed unto Eminent hazard of his Life, in an hot Engagement, wherein many were killed, and the Man that stood next unto him was with a Chain-Shot cut all to pieces. In the time of this Fight God caused him to take up Solemn Resolutions to Reform his Life, which Resolutions he was enabled, thro' Grace, to observe. And he then Resolved that he would Return as soon as might be *to his Father's House*. After a Skirmish or two more he was cast away. Then he was taken by the French, and turned ashore at the Bay of *Honduras*, where he with fifteen more were taken by a Party of Spanish Indians who were Led by a Spaniard. Having

\* A tract suggested by the facts of this narrative was written by Cotton Mather ; and published under the following title : " Repeated Warnings. Another Essay to warn Young People against Rebellions that must be Repented of . . . With a Pathetical Relation of what occur'd in the Remarkable Experiences of a Young Man who made an Hopeful End lately at Lyme in Connecticut. Boston. 1712." A copy of this "very rare" pamphlet is in Yale Collage Library, from which I have taken the narrative.

their Hands now tied behind them, and Ropes around their Necks, they were in that manner led unto a Place called *Paten*, Six hundred Miles distant from the place where they were taken, and very far within the Land, having no Food but Water and the *Cabbage* that grows upon Trees. My Son had at that time the *Fever and Ague* very bad, so that many times every step seemed as though it would have been his last. Yet God marvellously preserved him, while Three men much more likely to hold the Journey than himself perished on the Road. Upon their Arrival to the End of their Journey they were fast chained, two and two ; and so they continued Eight Months confined, and Languishing in Exquisite Miseries. My Son was visited with the *Small Pox* while he was in these Wretched circumstances.

"In this time two Godly Ministers came to see my Family, and One of them then putting up a fervent Prayer with us, on the behalf of my Absent Child, he was directed into such Expressions that I was persuaded that the Prayer was not lost, and that my Poor Son was then in some Remarkable Distress. Noting down the Time, I afterwards found that, at the Time when this Prayer was made, my Son was then in Irons, and had the *Small Pox* upon him. I observed some other Things of this Nature which Modesty directs to leave unmentioned. Innumerable Endeavours were used in this Time, by the Father Confessors, to perswade them to turn Papists, Sometimes Promising them Great Rewards, at other times threatening them with the *Mines*, and with *Hell*. Some of these Miserable men became Roman Catholicks. Hereupon the man who took them Petitioned the Viceroy for a Liberty to Sell them into the Mines ; which was very likely to have been granted. But there happening an Irreconcilable Difference between the Governour of the Place and him, the Governour then wrote to the Viceroy, informing him that they were honest men, taken by the French and turned ashore, having no ill Intention against the Spaniards. The Viceroy hereupon sent a special Warrant that they should all be Released, and care taken to send them down to the Seaside, there to be put aboard some Spanish Ship, and sent to *Old Spain*, there to be delivered unto the English Consul. The New Proselytes, learning of this, took to their Heels, met them on the Road, went with them for *Old Spain*, leaving their New Religion behind them, together with a Wife which one of them had married ; and became as Good Protestants (to a trifle, if I mistake not) as they were before. They were put aboard Spanish Ships, and carried Prisoners to *Campecha*, and several other Places in the *Spanish Indies*, waiting till the Plate-fleet went home. My Son with some of his Companions were put on board of one of the *Galeons*. In the Voyage to *Spain* he was Seized with a dreadful Fever. The Doctor, having used his best means for him, a considerable time, at last pronounced him *past Recovery*. However, he let him Blood, and afterwards the Vein opened of itself, and bled so long that all his Blood seemed to be gone, and he lay for Dead. The Bleeding stop't, and so he Quickly Recovered. The Captain of the *Galeon* told him he had no Child, and, if he would Embrace the Catholick Faith, and be Baptized into it, and Partake of the Mass, he would immediately give him Three hundred Pounds, and put him into as good a Way to Live as he could wish for. Then the *Pious Instructions* of a *Godly Mother*, long since gone to a better World, were of Precious use to him. For, tho' he was then Lame (and not long after in danger of losing his Leg) he was Enabled to sleight all these Temptations, and put his Trust in the Providence of God. I must wish that such Experiences as these might stir up *Parents* to be more careful in *Catechising their children*, and that You, or some Powerful Person, would move the Authority that, if it be possible, some more Effectual Course may be taken for the Instructing of Youth.

"My Son was Landed at *Cadiz*. From thence, by the Good Providence of God, he got a Passage to *Portugal*. From thence to *New-foundland*. From thence to *Nantucket*, And a Cure for his Leg. Here I may not omit my Thankful Acknowledgment of the Kindness of some Good People whose Hearts God stirred up to have Compassion on my Child in his Low Estate. There was a Gentleman of *Boston* who had some Lameness in his Knees (whose name I have forgot): He in the Voyage from *New-foundland* to *Nantucket* supplied him with Money, and was very kind to him. At *Nantucket* several were exceeding kind to him, Entertained him at their Houses, gave him Monies and Garments. When I revolve the Charity of these Good People, it often makes me think of what we read Mar. xiv. 8, 9. But I have not as yet had an opportunity in the least to retaliate their Kindness. My Son coming to *Rhode Island* got a Passage home from thence by Water.

"Thus, after Four Years were near Expired, I received my Son, The truest Penitent that ever my Eyes beheld! This he freely manifested both in Public and in Private. Whilst as yet in perfect Health, he took diverse Opportunities to discourse privately with me. Once he told me *He verily believed he had but a very little time to live*; Said he, *Tho' I am in perfect Health, I believe I have but a very little Time remaining. And, since God has been Exceeding Merciful to me, I greatly desire to spend the Remainder of my Time very much to His Glory.* In farther Discourse he told me that a Man, whom he then named, had formerly done him Great Wrong, and that he had often resolved to revenge himself. Said he, *I now freely forgive him.* He added, *I have not in my Childhood behaved myself so Respectfully towards such a Man (whom he also named) as I ought. I must take a Time to beg his Pardon.* And upon Enquiry I since find that he did so. He now quickly fell sick; and he now said to me, *Sir, my Business home was to make my Peace with you and to Dy.* I asked him with what Comfort he could look Death in the face. He answered me, *My most dear Father, I will hide nothing from you. When I was in Irons at Paten, I had a clear Manifestation of the Love of God in Jesus Christ unto me. I had after this no Burden remaining on my Conscience, but only my wicked Departing from you. For which cause I Earnestly begged of God that I might Live to see your Reconciled Face. This I now do, and I bless God for it. Had it not been for that one thing, I would much rather have chosen at that Time to have died than to Live. I could now desire to Live, if God please to grant it, that I may Glorify Him, and be a Comfort to you in your Old Age. But I think you will find it otherwise.* When I perceived that he drew near his End, I Earnestly desired, if it might be the Will of God, that he might have some Promise in the Word of God fixed on his Mind at the Time of his Departure. And after I had spake to him, Endeavouring to gain his stedy Attention, I said, *'At what time a Sinner'—'Altho' your Sins have been as Crimson'—'There is a Fountain'—'Ho, every one that thirsteth,'* With other Scriptures; in all which I purposely left out the Latter part of the Text, which he readily fill'd up, and made the sense complete. I then, turning to a Friend, said, *Here is great Ground of Thankfulness! You see he is no Stranger to these Promises; I hope he has improved them in the Time of his Adversity.* He readily replied, *That I have! many and many a time, God knows.* He Lived not long after this. His whole Conversation for the Eight Weeks (which was all the Time he lived after his Return Home) was Exceeding Exemplary. Then the Lord was pleased to take from me a Son in whom I hoped to have Enjoyed a Blessing.

"If this Account may quicken Parents in Well Teaching and Establishing their



Children in the Fundamental Truths of Religion, and may admonish Children to take heed of Running Undutifully from their Parents, and Irreligiously from the Means of Grace, and may Encourage those who do so, yet humbly, in their Distress, to Cry unto God, adhere to His Truth, and hope in His Mercy, I have my End. And I have nothing further to trouble you with, but to ask your Prayers, that I and all Mine may be humbled, sanctified and quickened to Duty to God, our own Souls, and one another, by all His Dispensations.

*I am R. Sir,*

*Your most humble Servant,*

M. G."

"*Lyme in Connecticut,*  
*Novemb. 8, 1712."*

When this last letter was written, the "Deare Heart" of the lover's epistle, before quoted, against whose sportive playing of fast and loose, to try his constancy, his own simply loyal nature seems to have possessed no weapons of defence but a somewhat too serious tone of remonstrance, had for several years rested from her labors of love as wife and "godly mother" (having died November 29, 1704); and Matthew Griswold had married secondly, May 30, 1705, Mrs. Mary Lee, widow of the first Thomas Lee of Lyme, *née* De Wolf. He died January 13, 1715, and was buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. His last wife survived him till 1724, when she was laid beside him.

He had eleven children, all by his first marriage:

1. *Phæbe*; born Aug. 15, 1684; who died in 1702, unm.
2. *Elizabeth*; born Nov. 19, 1685; who died in 1704, unm.
3. *Sarah*; born Mar. 19, 1687-88; who died Jan. 4, 1760, unm.
4. *Matthew*; born Sept. 15, 1688; who died in 1712, unm.—the "prodigal son," returned to his father's house.
5. JOHN (see below).

6. *George*; born Aug. 13, 1692; a graduate of Yale College in 1717; who married: first, June 22, 1725, Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel Lynde of Saybrook, Conn., descended from a branch of the great English Roman Catholic family of Digby, and probably from the van der Lindens of Holland; and secondly, July 20, 1736, his second cousin Elizabeth Lee (granddaughter of the first Thomas Lee of Lyme by his first wife), who died in 1758.

It is interesting to notice the probability that the first marriage of George Griswold was due to an acquaintance formed in his college-days—for the Collegiate School, which became Yale College, was at Saybrook up to the very year of his graduation; and Nathaniel Lynde had been one of its chief patrons and its first Treasurer. George Griswold's name heads the list of members of his class, five in number, arranged, as usual in early

times, according to reputed social rank. He was graduated with the second honor. His salutatory oration now lies before me, in his own handwriting, the oldest Yale College document of this sort known to exist, the next to it in age being the valedictory oration delivered by the elder President Edwards at his graduation in 1720. Due regard to the scholarship of this ancient graduate of Yale, and the interest attaching to so valuable a relic of the infancy of the College, as well as of an early period in the history of the Colony of Connecticut, justifies my giving here its exordium, and some other passages, in the original Latin. Its Latinity, though occasionally faulty, challenges comparison with that of the fifth part of any class graduating in our day:

"Nobilissimi, amplissimi, atque etiam spectatissimi auditores, omni observantiâ colendi, laudibusque maximis laudandi, hancce orationem, quoad queo, quamvis non eo modo ornatam prout me oportet, vobis medullitus consecrare volui—in quâ exoptamus ac precamur manum divinam beneficia vobis pro vestris meritis conferre. Vestrarum virtutum profunditas non potest a nobis exquiri, nec vos in nostrâ oratione congrue saluari, propter flosculorum Rhetoricae inopiam in eâ repertam; nec assumimus aliquid de vestris virtutibus garrere, quod . . . vos omnibus maximisque splendoribus animi ac corporis praediti estis, et divinâ humanâque doctrinâ ornati.

"Vestra praesentia maximum decorem summumque nitorem huicce diei adfert, qui supremo gaudio laetitiae nos gaudere efficit, quem terrae quotidianae indefatigatae rotationes tandem tulerunt. O felix dies, O felix tempus in quo noster microcosmus omnem ejus gloriam induit, ac ejus splendore resplendet, representatque macrocosmum; hic dies est praeferendus, omnibusque praeponendus, ac ad dextram omnium aliorum consedere debet. Invocentur omnes Musae canticum laetissimum cantare, et coelestes terrestresque inhabitatores in hujus diei celebratione unanimiter conspirent. O excellentissime dies, tantâ pompâ, tali amplitudine ornate, in quo doctrina solio summae dignitatis sese tollit ab alto, ac ineffabili luce sese omnibus illustrat. O illustrissima praesentia doctorum, o quam tantopere gaudemus perlaetum atque jucundissimum hujusce diei spectaculum aspicere, in quo magnates primatesque nostrae Reipublicae cum profundissimo doctorum concursu congregantur . . . Ut hujusce diei pompa gloriaque augerentur, impediatur aliquid terrae motionem, ut sol nobis immobilis stare videatur, quasi ab ejus cursu desisteret, quasique vultu placido nostra negotia prospiceret, ne corpora coelestia, terrestria aliquo contagio homines offenso afficiant [*i. e.* To increase the pomp and glory of this day, *may the earth's motion be impeded, so that the sun may appear to us to stand still*, as if desisting from its course, and taking note of our affairs with placid face, lest celestial or terrestrial bodies should smite men with any contagion]. Sed omnia consentiunt aliquid splendori literarum conferre. Studiis literarum intellectus non tantum dilatatur, sed etiam voluntas regulatur: humanitas urbanitasque ex regulis ejus colliguntur. Philosophus non tantum rerum cognitione et intelligentiâ super alios eminere solet, sed et morum praestantiâ, nam doctrina 'emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.' Sicut virtus voluntatem, sic rerum scientia intellectum perficit. O quid dicemus, o quibus argumentis ratiocinabimur, ut homines stipulemur justos labores pro literarum acquisitione suscipere; a quibus ignavito deterrentur! Sed si finis coronat opus, fructus beneficiaque e studiis literarum profuentia pro maximis difficultatibus in eâ acquirendâ ferendis sufficienter satisficient."

His address to the Governor of the Colony is, in part, as follows :

"Sed ne tempus tereremus, ac omnibus et singulis, prout ordo tam doctrinae quam virtutum requirit, orationem nostram hunc in modum omni submissione publice indicamus: Imprimis honoratissimo, praecllentissimoque viro, doctissimo domino Gurdon Saltonstall armigero, gubernatori Coloniae Connecticutensis, quasi super genua flecta nostram orationem praebemus [*i. e.* First of all, to Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, bearer of heraldic arms, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, we tender our discourse *as on bended knees*], qui est homo praestantissimus, permultis, permagnis preciosissimisque facultatibus tam animi quam corporis indutus, quibus non tantum honor huicce Colonnae adfertur, sed etiam in peregrinis regionibus fama ejus semper magis ac magis vagatur; eximius fulgor ejus gloriae soli similis coruscationem stellarum omnium quae ipsi praecesserunt obscurare videtur. O fons sapientiae, quam plurimas leges tulisti, sapientissimo consilio consultus, quarum observantia ad Republicae commodum plurimum tendit! Legibus tuis requirimur ac dirigimur utiles esse patriae, Coloniae et societatibus in quibus collocamur. Domine clarissime . . . o quam jucundum est nobis aspicere hominem omnibus ac singulis virtutibus ornatum in summo imperii statu illatum . . . mansuetudo tua, civilitas affabilitasque erga inferiores cum admiratione aspiciuntur [*i. e.* Most illustrious Sir . . . thy *gentleness, courtesy and affability to inferiors* are beheld with admiration]. O benignitas ineffabilis quae tuis actionibus erga omnes exprimitur . . . omnes tuae actiones in summâ justitiâ initiantur, summâque aequitate consummantur . . . Quid ultra possumus cogitare, quid ultra possumus dicere dignum praedicari, de tali illustrissimo atque etiam fidelissimo gubernatore? sed tantum praecavi quod laudes operum tuorum, pro quibus tibi immortales agimus gratias, in perpetuum vivant in ore viventium."

In a similar strain of eulogy he next addresses the Lieutenant-Governor and other magistrates of the body politic; and then the reverend curators of the "Academy," thus:

"Omnis splendore generis, eruditione, prudentiâque praeclarissimis dominis, patronis ac fautoribus honorandis hancce orationem salutatoriam omni animi subjectione consecrare volumus—viris sapentiâ pietateque praeditis, quorum curae ac inspectioni munera publica, tam ecclesiastica quam scholastica, committuntur, in quibus muneribus sic semetipsos gesserunt ut omnium admirationem acquisiverunt. O fidelissimi Evangelii ministri, a Christo constituti ad verbum ejus praedicandum, ecclesiamque ejus regendam, O homines peritissimi, tam in ecclesiâ congregandâ quam conservandâ, vestra munera tam bene perfungimini quam laudibus altissimis laudari meremini, benedictiones plurimorum in vestra capita quiescunt, propter consolationes illis per vos divinitus commissas; vestrorum laborum fructum videtis, eoque gaudetis, vestris instructionibus ac directionibus plurimî ad Deum conversi fuerunt. O quam confirmatam ac corroboratam ecclesiam habemus ex verbis vestrorum laborum quotidie nutritam! Vester amor benignitasque erga eam tam magna quam multa sunt quod ea debet Deo benedicere, ac vos extollere, propter vestram benevolentiam ei largitam. Beneficia ecclesiastica una cum scholasticis grato animo recipimus."

Then the learned Rector, Samuel Andrew, is similarly saluted, in an address ending with these words:

"Sed etiam haec academia summo honore summoque splendore ac laudibus dignissimâ a tali Rectore coronatur, qualis singulis ac omnibus doctrinae ornamentis, et maximâ

animi fortitudine, decoratur, a cujus illuminatione nostra academia cum summis academiis literatis contendere audeat ; tanta enim sunt ejus erga nos merita quanta a nobis remunerari non possunt, sed tantum gratissimo ac deditissimo animo agnoscere."

The other instructors, *four tutors only*, one a graduate of four years standing, and two of only three years—the most conspicuous of whom were Samuel Johnson, afterwards President of Columbia College, and Elisha Williams (though not a graduate of Yale, the successor of Cutler in the presidency) are saluted as follows :

"Proximoque serenissimis ac non uno literarum genere doctissimis illis viris, omnium disciplinarum scientiâ præditis, nostris nempe vigilantissimis institutoribus orationem omni salute præbemus, qui . . . ad culmen doctrinae attigerunt, artemque a capite ad calcem investigaverunt [*i. e.* Next, to those most august men, most learned in all branches of letters, endued with knowledge of all sciences, our most vigilant instructors, do we address ourselves with every salutation—to them *who have reached the pinnacle of learning, and have investigated the principles of science from top to bottom*]. O Musarum fautores, omnibus doctrinae dotibus induti, qui alios videre pro scientiâ studiosissime quærentes magnopere delectant, qui a nullâ industriâ nulloque labore abstinuerunt liberalia principia ætium in nos instillare ! . . . O generosissimi homines, nobis benignissimi, omnibus illos amabiles redditibus induti, summæque docendi facultate præditi, in quâ unusquisque doctorum nobis præambulavit ! Domini clarissimi, benevolentiam omnium sub vobis doctrinam quærentium adepti fueritis ; propter beneficiorum tam permagnorum quam permultorum collationem, flumina scientiæ a labiis vestris ad nos profluerunt ; distillationesque optimæ ac exoptatæ doctrinae in nos quotidie ceciderunt. O utinam nos negligentia oblivioneque non affectos fuisse ! quam corroborati, quam confirmati in rebus utilissimis ac nobis necessariis fuisset, quibus propter nostram incuriam tantum in durâ matre imbuimur. Pro his beneficiis nobis gratuito collatis maximam gratiarum redditionem reddimus."\*

With which of the reverend pastors of the Colony, whose learning and virtues were so highly extolled by the young graduate, he studied, after the manner of his time, to prepare himself for the ministerial office, we are not informed. He began preaching at East Lyme in 1719 ; the next year provision was made for his continuing there, and on the 30th of January, 1724, according to the church-records, he was invited to settle for life. Upon his acceptance of this call a church was organized, and he was installed Pastor. Of his ministerial life there exist, happily, some memorials, in notes of sermons, dated from 1721 to 1758, and other original memoranda. The handwriting of the sermons, however, is so minute and faded with age that I shall give a specimen of only one of them, preached 1757-58, on the text : "For what shall it profit," etc., Mark viii. 36, 37 :

\* The original manuscript of this oration is now deposited in the library of Yale College, a gift from Deacon George Griswold of East Lyme, Conn., great-grandson of the author.

"If the soul be so precious as has been shewn, from the word but now read, then take heed of abusing your souls. Christians, God hath given you souls that sparkle with divine beauty—oh, do nothing unworthy of your souls, do not abuse them! There are divers sorts of persons that abuse their souls. You degrade your souls that set the world above your souls, who 'pant after the dust of the earth'—as if a man's house were on fire, and he should take care to preserve the lumber, but let his child be burnt in the fire. They degrade and abuse their souls that make their souls lackeys to their bodies; the body is but the brutish part, the soul is the angelical; the soul is the queen-regent who is adorned with the jewels of knowledge, and sways the scepter of liberty: oh, what a pity is it that this excellent soul should be made a vassal, and be put to grind in the mill, when the body in the mean time sits in a chair of state! Solomon complains of an evil under the sun—Eccl. x: 7, 'I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth'—is it not an evil under the sun to see the body riding in pomp and triumph, and the soul of man, a royal and heaven-born thing, as a lackey walking on foot? Persons abuse their souls that sell their souls; the covetous person sells his soul for money; as it is said of the lawyer, he hath a tongue that will be sold for a fee, so the covetous man hath a soul that is to be set for sale for money: Achan did sell his soul for a wedge of gold; Judas did sell his soul for silver . . . The ambitious person sells his soul for honors, as Alexander the 6<sup>th</sup> did sell his soul to the devil for a popedom; and what is honor but a torch lighted by the breath of people, with the least puff of censure blown out? how many souls have been blown to hell by the wind of popular applause! The voluptuous person sells his soul for pleasure; one drowned himself in sweet water, so many drown their souls in the sweet, perfumed waters of pleasure. Plato called pleasure the bait that catcheth souls. . . . They abuse their souls that poison their souls; error is a sweet poison, it is the invention of the devil; you may as well damn your souls by error as vice, and may as soon go to hell for a drunken opinion as for a drunken life. You abuse your souls that starve your souls; these are they that say they are above ordinances, but sure you shall not be above ordinances till you are above sin. . . .

"And now, my brethren, who would serve so unprofitable a master as sin is? . . . let me expostulate the case with the ambitious man, who aspires unto great dignities, honours and promotions in this world: what are all these in comparison of his soul? many have great titles, honourable names in this world, who shall be degraded of all in the world to come! what is honour? it is but momentary; what would rich coats of arms, great dignities, preferments, honours, popular observance advantage your precious soul? The apostle tells, 'Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble [are] called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world:' he doth not say 'not any'; some are ennobled by a spiritual as well as a natural birth, but oft-times great dignities, preferments, honours, promotions, are clogs and hindrances to the soul . . . wherefore, then, should any man labour more for greatness than goodness, preferring favour of men before the favour of God, high places on earth before the high places in heaven? . . ."

At the same time that he ministered to his own parish, he preached for several years to the neighboring Indian tribe of the Niantics, having a commission as missionary to them from the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America. A record of services under this commission, kept by him from 1744 to 1746, shows



that in those years he gathered Indians together, for religious instruction, as often as from two to five times monthly, usually in numbers from twenty to forty. In this connection a vote of the Commissioners, in 1757, is somewhat significant, that, considering it "likely the Indians of Nihantic might be brought more generally to attend the Rev. Mr. Griswold's lectures, *in case they were less frequent*, the said Mr. Griswold be informed that the Commissioners would have him, for the future, to preach a lecture to them only once a fortnight, instead of doing it weekly as at present." Doubtless an assembly of Indians might try the powers of any preacher, and Mr. Griswold was, at this time, no longer young; yet, to judge by those of his sermons which remain to us, he probably was not gifted with that natural eloquence which has ever been so highly appreciated, as well as exemplified, by our native Indians. Nor could he have had the pathos of a David Brainerd, whose deeply compassionate appeals to the dusky children of the forest at Stockbridge were often answered by tears. Upon the whole, however, his ministry must have been more than ordinarily useful, if we may judge by the following contemporaneous obituary: \*

"Lyme in Cont., 19 Oct., 1761.

"On Wednesday last died the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. George Griswold, of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Society in Lyme, after more than Seven Weeks Painful Illness, in y<sup>e</sup> 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and in y<sup>e</sup> 37<sup>th</sup> Year of his Ministry.

"He was a Grave, Judicious and Godly Divine, very Laborious and Successful in his ministry: he was a Branch of an Honorable family in y<sup>e</sup> town; Early under very Serious Impressions of Religion, and Received a Remarkable Change by the Grace of God, about y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age, which is supposed the Beginning of the Divine Life in his Soul. Thenceforward it was y<sup>e</sup> reigning Care, and Business and Pleasure of his Life to Serve God, and do Good to mankind. He had early a thirst for Learning, which was now increased in him, and was gratified in a Liberal Education, by which he prepared for y<sup>e</sup> Great Work for which he was designed of God. He entered the Ministry under various Discouragements, but was engaged to undertake it from an animating Love to God, to immortal Souls, and to y<sup>e</sup> Sacred Work, which of Choice he preferred to any of y<sup>e</sup> Employments of this World. He was very vigilant and Diligent and Laborious in fulfilling his Ministry among the People of his Charge and to y<sup>e</sup> Nehantick Indians, whom he had y<sup>e</sup> Care of for many years. The Chief Subjects of his Preaching were y<sup>e</sup> great Doctrines of y<sup>e</sup> glorious Gospel; his Manner was plain and Solemn, and his evident Aim to win Souls, and to direct and engage to Christian Practice; and his Labours were Blessed of God to y<sup>e</sup> Good of Many. He was an excellent Christian of y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Stamp, of great humility and Guileless

\* I copy what seems to be the original draft. Its chirography, compared with that of Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, leads me to conjecture that he was the author of it. He was a near neighbor and ministerial associate of Rev. George Griswold for fourteen years, and his nephew by marriage; and the two were in close sympathy with each other, theologically. Although Parsons had ceased to reside in Lyme after 1745, family-ties must have brought him there often, as long as he lived.

Integrity in his Walk before God and Man, a lover of God and good men, fervent in his Devotions, given to hospitality, and very exemplary in all Christian Duties, both relative and Personal, as a husband, Parent, Neighbour, friend, a Shining Example to y<sup>e</sup> Believers, in Word and Doctrine, in Conversation and Charity, in Spirit, faith and Godliness, Purity, Peaceableness, Righteousness and every Good Work. Extremely temperate in all things, of eminent Patience and Meekness, which Shone out in him, with an amiable Lustre, in the Severe and long trials with which it pleased God to exercise him, especially for many latter years of his Ministry; and in his Last Illness Christ was all his dependence, and had much Peace and comfort in believing, to y<sup>e</sup> Last.

"A well adapted Sermon was preached at his funeral By y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Jewett to a large and afflicted Auditory, from John i: 47, 'Behold,' etc."

He died October 14, 1761. By his marriage to Hannah Lynde he had two sons, George and Sylvanus (afterwards the Rev. Sylvanus), and two daughters; by Elizabeth Lee he had the same number of children, again divided equally between sons and daughters; his two younger sons were Samuel and Andrew. His daughter Elizabeth, by the first marriage, married John Raymond of Montville, Conn., and became the ancestress of Theodore Raymond, Esq., now of Norwich, Conn. This John Raymond's father had married, for his second wife, Sarah Lynde, a sister of the first wife of the Rev. George Griswold.

The male line of descent from him branched out widely, constituting what has been called the Giant's Neck branch of Griswolds, from the place of his residence. From his son George were descended, in the third generation, the princely brother-merchants of New York, Nathaniel Lynde and George Griswold (b. 1773 and 1777); also, Thomas Griswold, the father of Mrs. Elizabeth Griswold, now of Lyme, widow of Charles Chandler Griswold, who was descended from the first Matthew by another line which I shall presently take up—the Blackhall branch, as it may be properly called, that property of the first Matthew Griswold having been mostly held by them ever since his day.

John Lynde Griswold, who passed a serene and beneficent old age at Peoria, Ill. (dying January 15, 1883), was a son of the elder of the two eminent merchants of New York. A sister of his, Catharine Ann (d. 1857), was the wife of Peter Lorillard of New York; a half-sister, Mary, is the widow of Alfred Pierpont Edwards of New York, a son of the late Henry W. Edwards, Governor of Connecticut. One of the sons of George Griswold, the younger of the two New York merchants, was Richard Sill (d. 1847), whose second wife and widow, Frances Augusta (Mather), now lives in Lyme. He left three children: 1. Louisa Mather, now the wife of General Joseph Griswold Perkins of Lyme, whose mother was a Gris-

wold of the Blackhall branch ; 2. Richard Sill, now of Lyme ; and 3. Fanny Augusta, now the wife of Professor Nathaniel Matson Terry, of the United States Naval School at Annapolis, Md. A daughter of the New York merchant George Griswold, Matilda (half-sister of Richard Sill, Sen'), is the wife of the present Secretary of State, Frederick Frelinghuysen ; and a sister of hers by the whole blood is the widow of John C. Green of New York, the great patron, of late years, of the College of New Jersey.

Mrs. Elizabeth Griswold, the widow of Charles Chandler Griswold, has two children : 1. Elizabeth Diodate, now the widow of Judge William Griswold Lane, her second cousin, a descendant of the first Matthew by the Blackhall branch, of Sandusky, Ohio ; and 2. Sarah Johnson, now the wife of Lorillard Spencer, and mother of four children, of whom one is Eleonora the wife of Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, Italy, Chamberlain of the present King of Italy, and a Lady of Honor to her Majesty the Italian Queen.

A Griswold by descent has favored me with the following note on some of the prominent physical traits of the family : " The original Griswolds seem to have been blue-eyed, very tall, large-boned, muscular, athletic and powerful. By the marriage of the Rev. George Griswold to Hannah Lynde, some of the beauty of the soft and regular features, and fine complexions, hereditary with the Digby-Lyndes, came into that branch of the family. The Wolcotts were also a tall race, but with fuller forms, black eyes, rich brunette complexions, and much beauty of the type which is still marked in the Wolcott family of to-day. This Wolcott beauty has characterized many of the Blackhall branch of Griswolds, who are twice Wolcotts by descent, as we shall see, through the marriage of Governor Matthew Griswold, added to that of his great-grandfather, the first Matthew."

The ancestral property of Giant's Neck fell, in the course of time, into the hands of those great merchants of New York who have been named, grandsons of the Rev. George Griswold ; and a stone church still stands—though no longer used—which they built on a spot consecrated by the pious labors of their grandfather. But, ceasing to care for the old property, they sold it, and that beautiful site is now given up to a large factory of fish-fertilizers. Yet, on all the varied and beautiful shore between the mouth of the Connecticut and New London there is no spot so picturesque and beautiful as Giant's Neck. The end of the Neck, stretching out into the Sound, is a flat formation of rock, making a natural wharf surrounded by deep water. As one looks out upon the pretty islands that cluster about the rock-bound shore, and into the wide ocean beyond, sum-

mer-villas rise to the imagination, with grounds of varied beauty for which nature has well prepared the way, and a group of pleasure-boats and yachts, some riding at anchor in the offing, others moored at the natural wharf; while the rails, a short distance away, connect this charming retreat of one's fancy with the great city. What might not have been made of the site, had it been improved by the wealth of its inheritors!

Having now completed what I propose to say of the Giant's Neck branch of Griswolds—referring only to Chancellor Walworth's Hyde Genealogy for further particulars—I return to enumerate other children of Matthew and Phœbe (Hyde) Griswold, younger than their son the Rev. George Griswold:

7. *Mary*; born Apr. 22, 1694; who married, Sept. 4, 1719, Edmund Dorr; and died Feb. 21, 1776. One of their sons was the Rev. Edward Dorr (b. 1722, graduated at Yale College in 1742), a pastor of the First Church of Hartford, Conn., from 1748. Their daughter Eve (b. 1733) married, in 1762, George Griffin of East Haddam, Conn., and was the mother of the distinguished clergyman Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin, and of the great lawyer George Griffin of New-York; also of Phœbe Griffin, who married Joseph Lord of Lyme, the mother of Mrs. Phœbe (Lord) Noyes, wife of the late Deacon Daniel R. Noyes of Lyme, of the late Miss Harriet Lord of Lyme, of Miss Frances Jane Lord now of Lyme, and other children. Messrs. Daniel R. and Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, Minn., Mrs. E. B. Kirby of St. Louis, Mo., Mrs. George Loveland of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and Mrs. Charles H. Ludington of New York City—all children of Daniel R. and Phœbe (Lord) Noyes—are great-great-grandchildren of Mary Griswold.

8. *Deborah*; born in 1696; who married, Oct. 19, 1721, Major Robert Denison of New London, Conn. (his second wife); and died between 1730 and 1733, leaving several children. Her husband "was a captain in General Roger Wolcott's brigade at the taking of Louisburgh, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of Major and of Colonel. He removed to Nova Scotia,"\* and was known as "Col. Robert Denison of Horton, N.S.," as early as 1761. Family-papers of the Denisons show that they were royalists. Col. Robert Denison, in his will, proved at Horton in 1765, bequeathed his "Cape Breton gun and silver-hilted sword," and "the gun brought from Lake George."

9. *Samuel*; born in December, 1697; who "died June 10, 1727, aged 29 years 6 months," unnm.

\* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, i. 55.

10. *Patience*; born in 1698; who married, between Nov. 2, 1724 and Mar. 28, 1728, \* John Denison, brother of her sister Deborah's husband; and died Nov. 8, 1776, having had sons and daughters.

11. *Thomas*; born in February, 1700; who "died July 27, 1716, aged 16 years and 5 months." †

JOHN, fifth child and second son of Matthew and Phœbe (Hyde) Griswold, through whom descends the Blackhall branch of the Griswold family, was born December 22, 1690; married, June 23, 1713, Hannah Lee, his step-sister (by his father's second marriage, to Mrs. Mary Lee—see above), who died May 11, 1773; and died September, 22, 1764. His gravestone in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme reads as follows:

"Sacred to the Memory of John Griswold, who, after having sustained the Public offices of Justice of the peace and of the quorum for many years, departed this life Sept. 22<sup>nd</sup> 1764, in the 74<sup>th</sup> year of his age;"

and in a note to a funeral sermon preached on his daughter Phœbe's death, it is said that he "was not only a Gentleman of great wealth; but also was much beloved and esteemed by his townsmen and acquaintance for his superior wisdom and integrity." As the eldest surviving son of his father, he had, by the law as it then stood, a double portion of the paternal estate; to which he added by repeated purchases. A few illustrations of the state of New England society in his time, taken from family-papers, will not be out of place here.

Two deeds of negro men, "sold and delivered" to him during his life, have been preserved; and his inventory includes a negro girl Phillis. In all probability these are only a representation of his household-slaves. As Justice of the Peace, presentments were made to him, at different times, for profanation of the Sabbath, "in y<sup>e</sup> Time of Divine worship . . . in y<sup>e</sup> meeting-House . . . by unbecoming Carriage (viz.), by continuing to Laugh and provoke others y<sup>t</sup> sat with him to do so also, by whispering, and by speaking out so Loud as to be heard by several persons, and by pricking y<sup>e</sup> boys with pins y<sup>t</sup> sat with him in y<sup>e</sup> seat"; by "going, between meetings, into y<sup>e</sup> orchard . . . near y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-House and beating Down y<sup>e</sup> apples off y<sup>e</sup> Trees"; and that ". . . Did unnecessarily on Said Day Travil from Said house to one Sertain Called Mason's Pond in Colchester, . . . and then and there unnecessarily, In a Canoe, proceed upon said pond,

\* Proved by two signatures of hers, as maid and wife respectively, of these two dates.

† The birth-months of Thomas and Samuel are determined by inscriptions on their gravestones in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. A draft of a will of Thomas, made when he was "very sick & weak in body," is dated 1716.



and did and exercised Labour by fishing in said Pond"; that "... Did play Cards in a private house, Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Laws of this Government"; and "a couple of young fellows" were accused before him "with Lying." What singular manifestations are these, in a land of dearly bought freedom, of an over-weening zeal to enforce religious formalities, to restrain personal liberty arbitrarily, and to treat immoralities themselves, irrespective of the injuries to society which they occasion, as punishable by human law! We find, also, among the family-papers, a memorandum, dated Aug. 12, 1746, of payment being due from the Colony of Connecticut to John Griswold "for boarding four souldiers that were Inlisted in y<sup>e</sup> Expedition to Canada"—a memorial of the Cape Breton Expedition in the Old French War; in which his brother-in-law Denison was an officer of distinction, as we have seen, and Roger Wolcott held an important command, whose daughter had been for nearly three years the wife of his son Matthew.

The home of John Griswold was a house which he built where now stands the house of Judge Matthew Griswold (his grandson, 1760-1842) in the Blackhall Avenue. Judge Matthew is said to have made his house exactly like that of his grandfather, to please his own father the Governor.

The children of John and Hannah (Lee) Griswold were:

1. MATTHEW (see below).

2. *Phæbe*; \* born Apr. 22, 1716; who married, Dec. 14, 1731, the Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme; and died Dec. 26, 1770. Her husband was graduated at Yale College in 1729, and settled as Pastor of the First Church of Lyme in 1731, after having studied for the ministry with the Rev. Elisha Williams, Rector of Yale College, and with the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Mass. In the days of "New Light" theology, and of the ministerial methods growing out of it, he being warmly in favor of them, and of Whitefield, the eloquent preacher of the new views (who twice visited him, and "preached from a rock on his grounds near the present meeting-house, since known as the 'Whitefield Rock')," he encountered opposition, and finally took a dismission, and removed to Newburyport, Mass., where he died; and where, in his house, as is well known, Whitefield had previously died. Of Mrs. Parsons it is said, in a funeral sermon preached on her death:

"The God of Nature was pleased to furnish her with mental endowments to an uncommon degree. In the solidity of her judgment and penetration of mind she shone superior

\* Reference is to be had to the Hyde Genealogy for further particulars respecting the younger children of John Griswold, which I here omit—my object being, chiefly, to follow the line of descent through his eldest child Matthew.

to most of her sex; in canvassing many difficult points she could distinguish with surprising clearness.

"For readiness, liveliness and keenness of wit she appeared to me unrivall'd. The agreeable sallies of that social endowment have often excited my esteem and admiration. Such a degree of penetration and agreeable sprightliness seldom meet in the same person. Her ingenious friends, whom she favored with her letters, can testify with what correctness and spirit, with what instructive solidity and elegant vivacity, she could write.

"Such was her courage and firmness of resolution as you can seldom find in the delicate sex . . .

"Her indefatigable industry in the affairs of her family was truly remarkable . . .

"Her knowledge of Geography and History, especially her critical acquaintance with Church History, was truly rare.

"Knowledge in Divinity enters deep into her character. Comparatively but few of her sex, I believe, have had their minds more enriched with that treasure. . . .

"She was a person of much christian simplicity and integrity; of an upright, sincere and conscientious turn of mind; a bitter enemy to all unchristian craftiness and sly deceit . . .

"Though she was honorably descended, and lived in an honorable station, yet she could, without the least self-denial, condescend to the meanest of the human race. . . .

"She was possess of great sensibility of heart, was much acquainted with the tender and delicate emotions of humanity and sympathy . . . . ."

A son of the Rev. Jonathan and Phœbe (Griswold) Parsons was Colonel, afterwards General, Samuel Holden Parsons (b. 1737); who studied law with his uncle Gov. Matthew Griswold, was made King's Attorney in 1774, and removed to New London; but at the commencement of the Revolution entered actively into military service, was at the battle of Bunker Hill, was made a Brigadier General in 1776, distinguished himself in the battle of Long Island, and was appointed Major General; after the war removed to Middletown, Conn., resumed the practice of his profession, and was an active member of the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in Connecticut, of which his uncle Gov. Griswold was the President. Under an appointment as Commissioner of Connecticut, he obtained from the Indians a cession of their title to the "Western Reserve" of Ohio, and was afterwards made the first Judge of the Northwestern Territory by Washington, his confidential friend.†

A sister of General Parsons, Lydia (b. 1755), married Capt. Moses Greenleaf of Newburyport, Mass., and was the mother of the late eminent law professor; and author of the "Treatise on the Law of Evidence," Simon Greenleaf of Harvard College.

3. *Thomas*; born Feb. 15, 1719; who married, Dec. 17, 1741, Susan

\* A Funeral Sermon . . . occasioned by the death of Mrs. Phebe Parsons . . . By John Searl . . . Boston, 1771, pp. 37-40.

† From an article by the Hon. C. J. McCurdy, in the New Haven Register for Dec. 20, 1881.

nah, daughter of Nathaniel Lynde, Jr. of Saybrook, Conn.; and died July 16, 1770. He is known as Ensign Thomas Griswold. His wife died Sep. 25, 1768. They both lie buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. One of their daughters, Lois (b. 1747), married Samuel Mather, and was the paternal grandmother of Mrs. Richard Sill Griswold now of Lyme.

4. *Hannah*; born Jan. 10, 1724; who married, Nov. 5, 1740, Benaja Bushnell (Y. C. 1735) of Norwich, Conn.; and died Aug. 16, 1772, having had fourteen children, sons and daughters.

5. *Lucia*; born July 6, 1726; who married, Jan. 9, 1753, Elijah Backus, Esq., of Norwich, Conn.; and died Dec. 16, 1795, having had nine children.

6. *Sarah*; born Dec. 2, 1728; who married, Nov. 1, 1750, Judge William Hillhouse of New London, North Parish (Montville), Conn.; and died Mar. 10, 1777. She was the mother of the late Hon. James Hillhouse of New Haven, Conn., so long Senator in Congress from Connecticut, and grandmother of the late James Abraham Hillhouse, author of *Hadad*, *Percy's Masque* and other poems, by which he will be always remembered as one of the most accomplished of the second generation of American men of letters, subsequent to the Revolution.

7. *Clarissa*; born May 30, 1731; who died in infancy.

8. *Clarissa*; born Feb. 9, 1733; who married, Oct. 22, 1754, Nathan Elliot of Killingworth, afterwards of Kent, Conn.; and died Feb. 11, 1811, having had thirteen children, sons and daughters.

9. *Deborah*; born Mar. 1, 1735; who married, Dec. 9, 1756, Capt. Nathan Jewett of East Haddam, Conn.; and died May 16, 1811, having had nine children.

10. *John*; born May 15, 1739; who died in infancy.

11. *Lydia*; born in June (bapt. June 13) 1742; who married, before 1768, Samuel Loudon, a bookseller, of New York; and died after 1770. Two letters from her husband to her brother Gov. Griswold give us these two approximate dates; and from one of them, dated Apr. 12, 1768, I quote the following: "Last week I sent you three Newspapers. I now send you two more. The first of the five begins the American Whig, a Paper which I hope will be useful to the Publick. . . . You'll see the Design of the Whig is to raise a universal stir in N<sup>o</sup>. America against the importation of a Bishop."

*Edward Elbridge Salisbury*

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

(Continued from page 70, Vol. XI.)

The "one Isaacs of East Hampton," mentioned in the preceding entry of "28 April, 1781," and note thereto (January magazine, p. 66), was a Christianized foreign Jew, who came to East Hampton before the Revolution, and subsequently died there, at the age of 75 years. *Thompson's Hist. Long Island*, I. 323). His daughter, Sarah Isaacs, married William Payne, the first teacher of the Clinton Academy, at East Hampton, founded in 1784. He was a Boston medical student, and pupil of Dr. Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill. Their son—the grandson of Aaron Isaacs—was *John Howard Payne*, the immortal author of "Home, Sweet Home," whose remains, only a few months ago, were brought back to his native land from their far African grave near the ruins of Carthage, and interred at Washington, through the thoughtful care of the venerable William W. Corcoran.

"Mr. Rivington," the writer of the entry of "16th May, 1781" (the last in the January magazine), was the well-known Printer of the *Royal Gazetteer*. His information was incorrect. The "Mr. Stedman" was either Charles, or Alexander, Steadman of Philadelphia, the former many years a Councilman of that city. Both brothers were men of character, and before the war, with Baron Stiegel owned and operated the Elizabeth Furnace in Lancaster county, Pa. (*Keith's Provincial Councilors*, 162.) Town gossip probably originated this report, though there were many then in Philadelphia who would have liked to have driven out Reed.

*Transaction between Capt\* Sullivan,\* Capt Holland† & Major De Lancey.*

17<sup>th</sup> May. 1781.

Captain Sullivan left Philadelphia on the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst and says the evening he arrived there there were very great riots on account of the depreciation of the paper

\* Daniel Sullivan, an elder brother of Major-General John Sullivan, the Continental general, but at this time a member of the Continental Congress from New Hampshire.

† Stephen Holland, of Londonderry, New Hampshire. He was a colonel of militia, a member of the House of Assembly, and a man of note. In 1775, before the Declaration of Independence, he denied at a town meeting that he "was an enemy to his country" in writing; and the statement ended by saying that "he was ready to assist his countrymen in the glorious cause of liberty at the risk of his life and fortune." In 1778 he was proscribed, banished, and his estate confiscated. He was a gentleman of culture, easy address and influence. He was a magistrate, a representative of the town in the Legislature, clerk of the county of Hillsborough, and Lieut.-Col. of the militia of Rockingham County. In 1777 he was imprisoned as a loyalist by the committee of safety of Londonderry, but escaped from the jail, and went to Boston, and thence to Newport, where his wife was permitted by the committee to join him, and from there he came to New York. At the close of the war he went to England, and thence to Ireland, where he died shortly after the peace of 1783. —*Parker's Hist. Londonderry*; *Farmer and Moore N. H. Hist. coll.*; vol. 1, *Sabine's Loyalists*; *Wells and Hick's British and Am. Register*, 1774, 1775.

money, and that there was no doubt of their having tar'd a dog, covered him with bills, and drove him into the Coffee House: They would have sent him into the Council but were prevented.

Mr Sullivan says his brothers letter to Mesheck Weare was printed in France, which caused a great deal of confusion.

The night he got there, after the riot he supped with the General, who told him as the people had not virtue enough to keep up the value of their money, the army must quit the field. He was at first reserved with his brother, but when he delivered Mr Hollands letter he opened freely; he read the letter not less than thirty times, it put him in great confusion, and made him shed tears. He said he wished he had receive it soonner, he desired Mr Sullivan not to forget to say he would do everything in his power to comply with the letter. He said above a hundred times he wished from his heart to bring about a reconciliation. He wrote an answer, which he gave to his Brother, consisting of a whole sheet of paper, but next morning sent his aid de camp to tell him he wanted to speak to him, and when he came, he said that if that letter was found upon him it would endanger his life; that he would find some other means to communicate it to Major Holland. His brother told him from Major H: that if he would give us information of the transactions of Congress and his advice what steps to take, he need only name his own terms. He said he wished he had known it sooner but hoped it was not too late; that he would find out a method if it was in his power; that it was of the utmost consequence to preserve secrecy in such an affair and charged him, if it was found out that he had carried a letter from New York, to say it was sealed, as his safety depended upon it, and he would find some business to send him to Mr Holland. Mr S: thinks it is either one Noble or Smith. The General said he would ride a hundred miles to have an hours conversation with Mr Holland; he should then know his mind about politics. Mr Sullivan has not the smallest doubt of his brother's good intentions towards us.

Signed	{	Ol. De Lancey
		Daniel Sullivan
		Stephen Holland

Then the above named Daniel Sullivan personally appeared and made solemn oath to the truth of the above and within account given by him to Major De Lancey before, [me]

Signed      Stephen Holland.\*

\* Why the above statement is verified by the oath of Daniel Sullivan, who makes it, does not appear on its face. Holland, a fellow-New-Hampshireman of General Sullivan, who knew him and his family well, and had long been clerk of a court in New Hampshire, probably, out of precaution, required it as a proof of good faith. This sworn statement both corroborates, and is corroborated and explained most fully, by the following letter from Luzerne, the French minister, to Vergennes, the head of the French cabinet, written just six days after Daniel Sullivan left Philadelphia on his return to New York, and four days before the entry of his statement in this "Private Intelligence" by Capt. Beckwith. It is very singular that these two documents, one from



23 May 1781—

"Obadiah Johnston, pilot of the *Romulus*, made his escape from the ship, he was confined in together with five others. They seized the ship's boat, went into the harbor, and cut out a schooner loaded with lumber and oil. She had two men on board: The wind being fair they ran through the fleet close by the Con-

England the other from France, each separately brought back to America about a century after their dates, should so completely explain each other, each giving one side of the same transaction.

Philadelphia, May 13, 1781.

My Lord,

When the letter mail from Philadelphia was intercepted last year, and the English printed some of the letters, I noticed one from a Delegate who complained of the pecuniary straits in which he was kept by his State, and the dearth of all the necessaries of life in Philadelphia. Of this I had the honor of sending you a translation. From that time it seemed necessary that I should open my purse to a Delegate whose needs were made known to the enemy by his own confession, and in the guise of a loan I sent him sixty-eight guineas and four sevenths. The interception of a second mail put the English in possession of a letter addressed to him by the treasurer of his State; and this also they printed. This, too, treated of pecuniary necessities. General Clinton suspected that a man so pressed for money could be easily corrupted, and as his brother was a prisoner in New York, he permitted the latter to go to Philadelphia on the pretext of negotiating his exchange. The Delegate sought me, and told me in confidence that his brother had brought him a letter, unsigned, but which he knew by the hand writing to have been written by an English Colonel then in New York. "The writer of this letter," he said to me, "after dwelling on the resources of England, and the means she possesses for ultimately subjugating America, compliments me warmly on my intelligence, my talents, and the high esteem in which the English hold me." He added, "that they regard me as the fittest man to negotiate a reconciliation between the mother country and the English colonies; that they wish me to make known my sentiments on this subject; that all overtures on my part will be received with the consideration which they deserve; that I have only to state my wishes; that the person who wrote to me was fully empowered to open a special negotiation with me, and that I may count on the profoundest secrecy."

"I made answer to my brother with all the indignation that such propositions aroused in me; I threw the letter in the fire before his face, and when he started for New York, I begged him to let those who sent him understand that their overtures had been received with the deepest scorn. Yet I have preserved silence about this matter toward Congress, partly in order not to compromise my brother, partly in order not to make a parade of my own disinterestedness, and partly because I thought it hazardous to announce with too much positiveness to my colleagues that the enemy was seeking a traitor among us, and that his reward was ready. But I thought to confide to you these particulars, in order to put you on your guard against the enemies' intrigues, even in the very bosom of Congress; for if they have dared to make such offers to me, whose attachment to the good cause is so generally known, it is only too possible that they have done the same to others who have not apprised you of it."

This confidential communication seemed to me to be true in the main; but I was not quite convinced that this Delegate had charged his brother to carry to New York a message so haughty and so insulting to the English as that which he had repeated to me. He made me a very strange proposition,—to pretend to lend an ear to the overtures that had been made to him, and to send a trusty man to New York to ask of General Clinton a plan of reconciliation; adding, that he had been unwilling to use his brother's services, fearing his attachment to the cause of independence. "I see," he told me, "many advantages in thus sounding the disposition of the English, in order

querant, but were never hailed. They have seven sail of the line, the Romulus and one Frigate ; the Fantasque with her lower deck guns out and a prison ship. Their troops are there still ; they sent some to Providence, but they returned back again. A Brig arrived five days before he came away, which brought intelligence that thirty sail of transports, with 2000 troops convoyed by a line of Battle Ship & two

to find out what their scheme of corruption may be, and to learn how far they intend to go in their concessions,"—and he named to me four Members of Congress to whom he proposed to confide his project before putting it in execution,—all of them being men of established integrity. This Delegate himself enjoys an excellent reputation, and I am very unwilling to suspect that he meant to make me a cloak for a correspondence with the enemy ; but he has so often told me of the losses that the Revolution has occasioned him, and so bitterly regretted his former condition of ease and comfort, that I could not help dreading for him the temptation which he would encounter ; and I did not hesitate to dissuade him from the enterprise, by clearly pointing out the great evils it would entail. He did not promise me, formally, to abandon it ; but if, notwithstanding the representations which I intend to reiterate to him, he persists in it, I shall so narrowly watch his conduct that I shall hope to discover whatever may be ambiguous in it. Moreover I have constantly encouraged him to be very confiding ; and to him I always attribute the rupture of the league formed by the Eastern States,—a league which by false notions of popularity and of liberty, and by excessive jealousy of the army and the General-in-chief, has long obstructed the most necessary measures, and which on many occasions has shown itself jealous at once of our interests and our influence. In his own State he is highly esteemed ; he enjoys the credit of determining it to declare for independence in 1776. It is the only State which has not yet fixed its form of government, and, since this delay has been productive of evil, and permits ill-disposed persons still to hope for the re-establishment of the English government, he has promised me that, on his return, he will use his influence with the people to induce them to adopt a constitution. I know not how much longer he will remain in Congress ; but I thought you would not disapprove my offer to continue to him every six months, the loan that I made him last year, so long as he shall remain a Delegate, and my proposition has been very gratefully received. In any event, it is interesting to keep an eye on him. It is unfortunate that many other Delegates are in situations even still more necessitous. Some from the South, whose States are occupied by the enemy, have no other resources than the receipt of a bounty from Congress for their subsistence, and this bounty is so small, that one of them, who was formerly governor of Georgia, is compelled to withdraw his wife from society, for the want of clothing in which she could respectably appear.

This attempt of the English gave me a chance to ask this Delegate whom they approached, if his long experience in Congress, and his colleagues' manner of voting, had led him to suspect any of them of corruption. He indicated the person against whom I had formerly cherished suspicions, and another whose character seemed to him equally suspicious ; but, with these two exceptions, he thought that Congress was composed of gentlemen of steadfast character and inaccessible to corrupt approaches.

I append here, my Lord, a translation of a pamphlet published against Mr. Deane [Duane] a member of Congress from New York, on the very day when this Delegate left Philadelphia on his way home. It was printed in a Gazette whose editor has declared that he will surpass all his contemporaries in the license of his columns, and that only torture or formal legal proceedings shall wrest from him the names of those who write for his journal. The piece in question is attributed to Gouverneur Morris, who was a member of the Assembly up to the end of 1779, as a Delegate from the same State. The facts alleged are known to be true ; but I think Mr. Deane [Duane] long ago abandoned the equivocal principles which governed his conduct during the first years of this Revolution, and I have found him always steadfastly attached to the cause of independence.

frigates, had sailed before she left France. She was fifty four days on her passage. They are expected every day at Newport or Boston. The new Admiral is arrived at Rhode Island. He came in a frigate to Boston. They do not talk of any more reinforcements being expected and are much afraid of our fleets intercepting those that are coming. About ten days ago (the day Admiral Arbuthnot appeared off) they got 1000 troops on board, where they continue. Their ships are not more than half manned. Admiral Arbuthnot had ten sail. The inhabitants and French are disputing constantly. They are at half allowance of beef. They say they have not salt provisions enough to go to sea.

Captain Gayton\* is not treated so well as a person of his rank should be. They stripped him and all his officers of every shirt, but the one he had on: He is very

I will await your orders, my Lord, to carry the advances spoken of in this dispatch to my account of extraordinary expenses.

The Mr. Payne, of whom I have already had the honor of speaking to you, and to whom I thought one might look to write the history of the current Revolution, went to France in February last, in the frigate *Alliance*. The two vessels despatched from Cadiz with clothing for the American army, have safely arrived at Boston.

I am &c &c

Le Ch. de la Luzerne

The Delegate spoken of at the beginning of this dispatch, my Lord, is General Sullivan, who represents the State of New Hampshire in Congress.

The answer to the foregoing despatch, of 27th July, 1781, says:

"I cannot but approve, Monsieur, the pecuniary assistance you have rendered to General Sullivan. You may continue it to him as long as he shall sit in Congress, and you will carry the amount to the account of your extraordinary expenses, avoiding the mention of his name."

These two documents are taken from a circular of Little & Brown, the Boston publishers, advertising the completion of the 8vo edition of "Bancroft's History," in ten volumes, in which they are given in both French and English, as a reply to the charge that Bancroft's statement that Sullivan "was a pensioner of Luzerne," was "inherently absurd," a copy of which was received by the writer at their book-store in 1876. The documents were furnished by Mr. George Bancroft, who printed them to show corruption; Luzerne's letter is now found to prove treason. It also demonstrates the great penetration and caution of that most able Minister. By their own words and acts must the two Sullivans be judged.

Daniel Sullivan lived at New Bristol—now called "Sullivan"—Maine, a small seaport at the head of Frenchman's Bay, east of Mount Desert. He formed a company for home defense, etc., and with it was present at the siege of Castine in 1779. In February, 1781, he was seized at night in his house, which was burned, by a boat's crew from the British man-of-war *Allegiance*, and sent a prisoner to New York, where he was released by Clinton as above stated.

He was sent to Halifax, thence to New York, and put on board "the Jersey hulk," where he remained six months; when exchanged, he died on the Sound in his passage home, not without suspicions of poison, according to the appendix. p. 286, etc., of Amory's "Life of John Sullivan." Kidder, in his "Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution," p. 136, says he was taken to Castine, then, some time afterward, to New York, and placed "in one of the terrible prisons there," and when exchanged, was so feeble that he died on his way home. Both accounts are clearly proven erroneous, in part, at least, by Daniel Sullivan himself.

\* Captain George Gayton, of the *Romulus*.

well. The ship he is in is an old East India-man: The seamen are on board the *Fantasque*. They allow the officers to go ashore, two at a time—a number of the inhabitants are as civil as they dare be.

One hundred were killed on board the *Conquerant*.\*

They were going out, and the signal made when Admiral A: appeared off.

The Brig from France brought dispatches.

The captains clerk of the Ship Captain Gayton is in, told him this. He usually tells them all the news he can collect. The report was that they intended sailing, to cover the arrival of their fleet, which the appearance of Admiral Arbuthnot prevented.

They have down the *Romulus*: She was very foul.

The 22 sail of transports went to France. They were convoyed by two frigates.

They have no transports there now. Their fleet very sickly—very little trade carried on there.

The schooner he took ran ashore, at Oyster Bay.

They will not exchange Captain Gayton, but for a French officer. They refused Confederacy officers.†

---

Extract of a letter from S: W: to D<sup>l</sup> Cox Esq ‡ dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1789. Received 29<sup>th</sup>.

"I wish you joy— Green has been repulsed, or rather defeated before Cambden—our good Lords § are in great pain for him. They fear he will not be able to retreat from Carolina.

"You will please to inform the board that there are now fitting out at this place three large whale boats in order to protect the trade to you by cruising in the Delaware, as well as along the Jersey shores from Cape May to the Hook—They are now ready to go down.

If these boats are not checked they will give your friends near the shores, as well as your boats much trouble.¶

\* This ship, mentioned here and in other places, was a line-of-battle ship of 74 guns, commanded by M. de la Grandière, which suffered very severely in the action of the 16th of March. In an article in the *Newport Mercury* of the 31st of March, 1781, it is stated that "the *Conquerant*, however, suffered a great deal, because, after having fought with the British van, she sustained all the fire of the centre. She especially fought with a three-decker, the loss of whose main topsail yard and of a great part of her rigging compensated the great damage done to the *Conquerant*."

† American officers.

‡ Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, at this time residing in the New York city. He was of the council of New Jersey, and a prominent member of the Board of Associated Loyalists, to which reference is made in this letter.

§ The Continental Congress.

¶ This letter apparently was written in Philadelphia. "The board" referred to was the "Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists," organized by direction of Lord George Germaine,

*Copy of a letter from Col. De Lancey\* dated West Farms 3<sup>d</sup> June.*

Dear Sir

I was honored with yours of yesterday. One of the Refugees has just returned from the White Plains—He informs me no troops were there. I cannot find there are any rebels in force, nearer than Croton and Greenwich—If I can get intelligence of the French coming on the lines, will give you the earliest notices.

Signed

J. De Lancey.

Col. West Chester Refugees

Major De Lancey &c

*Copy of a letter from Captain Marquard 5<sup>th</sup> June. 1781.*

Sir

One Travis, a Refugee of Col : De Lancey's who has been out as far as Salem,† six miles beyond North Castle, & who returned last Friday night, informs me that the people thereabouts dont know anything of the arrival of French troops at Crompond, but that it is the common talk amongst them, that a large body of them had left Rhode Island and were on their march towards the North River, and that the French Cavalry and light troops were daily expected in order to take the lines at Croton.

Secretary of State for the American Department, to annoy the "rebels" by boat expeditions ostensibly, and to give its members good salaries, £200 each and rations. Gov. William Franklin, of New Jersey, the natural son of Benjamin Franklin, was its president. The men it employed were really hand in glove with similar depredators on the American side, and were entirely independent of the officers of the British army. They were suppressed by Sir Guy Carleton on his arrival in 1782. (II. *Jones' History of New York During the Rev. War*, 229 and 481. )

\* Colonel James de Lancey of Rosehill, West Farms, Westchester Co., N. Y., the writer of the above letter, and Major Oliver de Lancey, of the 17th Light Dragoons, the Adjutant-General to whom it was addressed, were first cousins. The former being the fourth son of Peter de Lancey of Rosehill, West Farms, Westchester county, N. Y., and his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Gov. Cadwallader Colden, the parents of the *second branch* of the de Lancey family ; and the latter being the second son of Brigadier-General Oliver de Lancey, of Bloomingdale, New York City, and his wife Phila, daughter of Jacob Franks, of Philadelphia, the parents of the *youngest or third branch* of that family. The writer of these notes, to whom oddly enough it has fallen to edit this "Intelligence," is the eldest grandson of John Peter de Lancey, of Mamaroneck, Westchester county, N. Y., the third son of James de Lancey, Chief Justice, and Governor of New York, and his wife Martha, eldest daughter of Col. Caleb Heathcote, of the manor of Scarsdale, Westchester county, N. Y., the parents of the *eldest or first branch* of that family. John Peter de Lancey was at this time in the regular British army, a young captain in the 18th or Royal Irish regiment of foot, and a part of the time major of the "Pennsylvania Loyalists." All three officers were first cousins, each belonging to a different branch of the de Lancey family, and all grandsons of Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey the first of the name in America (who came to New York in June, 1686, having fled from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685), and his wife Anne, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler, his wife. The fathers of the three young officers, and Gen. Philip Schuyler, and Lieut.-Gov. Pierre and Gen. Philip Van Cortlandt were all first cousins.

† "Salem," comprising the present towns of North Salem and Lewisborough formed the north-east corner of Westchester county, N. Y., and the east end of the manor of Cortlandt, and through it the French army a few weeks later marched on their way to White Plains. "Travis" is believed to have been Jeremiah Travis of Westchester, who after the war went to Nova Scotia.



Several people have been sent out on this and the other side of the North River for intelligence : as soon as any one of them returns, with the least news of some Consequence, I shall not fail to give you the most early information. I have the honor to be

Yours &c

Signed

Marquard Aid de Camp.

Major de Lancey Adj't Gen'l

*Intelligence by ——— in answer to ——— June 5 1781*

Query 1<sup>st</sup>—Has there been any disturbance lately in the army & what ? how reconciled ?

Answered.—The late raised troops of Pennsylvania since the revolt at Yorktown on their route to the Southward refused proceeding until paid in hard money, for which several were executed, which caused the matter to cease for the present \*

2<sup>nd</sup> The Situation and number of General Washington's army, where are they now stationed ?

2<sup>nd</sup>  
To me unknown.

3<sup>d</sup> Is the Congress money good for any thing or is the circulation of it altogether stopped ?

3<sup>d</sup>  
The circulation is stopped entirely and has mostly fallen in the hands of the Eastern provinces.

4<sup>th</sup>—What hopes are there of success from France this Summer ? or is there any ?

4<sup>th</sup>  
The fleet and troops destined for America have been ordered to the East Indies to secure the Dutch property here.

5<sup>th</sup>—How is the army clothed ? Have they plenty of provisions ?

5<sup>th</sup>  
Badly clothed and no magazines of provisions at present.

\*The following extract from a private letter of Wm. J. Livingston to his friend Col. Samuel B. Webb, of May 28th. 1781, vividly describes the suppression of the second mutiny of the Pennsylvania line at Yorktown, Pa., before referred to in this "Intelligence," and in this answer to the above 1st query.

"There has been a mutiny in the Pennsylvania line at Yorktown previous to their marching. Wayne like a good officer quelled it soon. Twelve of the fellows stepped out and persuaded the line to refuse to march in consequence of the promises made them not being complied with. Wayne told them of the disgrace they brought on the American arms while in Jersey, in general, and themselves in particular ; that the feelings of the officers on that occasion were so wounded that they had determined never to experience the like, and that he beg'd they would fire either on him and them, or on those villains in front. He then called on such a Platoon. They presented at the word, fired, and killed six of the villains. One of the others badly wounded he ordered to be bayonnetted.

6<sup>th</sup>—What is General Green doing to the Southward? The latest accounts from that quarter?

7<sup>th</sup>  
Any loan of Money from any of the European Powers, and the sum?

8<sup>th</sup> What accounts of the convention to be held or now holding at Vienna for a general peace? †

9<sup>th</sup> If France, Spain, or Holland dont assist this summer is not the game up? Can resources be found for another year? —

6<sup>th</sup>  
Nothing later than the action of Lord Rawdon,\* has yet transpired to the Publick.

7<sup>th</sup>  
A report prevails but wants confirmation, that Congress have negotiated a loan of four millions of livres from France. Arrived from Havanna a large sum of money on private account and much more expected. †

8<sup>th</sup>  
Unknown to me.

9<sup>th</sup>  
All depends on Mr. Morris's late undertaking as Financier General--If he succeeds everything will be done with hard money—This, it is generally thought will answer every expectation. §

Pray dont attempt anything of this kind again. You know too well my situation.

The soldier on whom he called recovered his piece and said he could not for he was his comrade. Wayne then drew a pistol and said he would kill him. The fellow then advanced and bayonnetted him. Wayne then marched the line by divisions around the dead, and the rest of the fellows are ordered to be hang'd. The line marched the next day southward mute as fish."—*Webb's Reminiscences*, 149. Had similar decided measures been taken at Trenton, the January mutiny would not have ended as it did, and this one might never have occurred.

\* At Hobkirk's Hill, S. C., where he defeated Greene on the 24th of April, 1781.

† On 24th May, 1781, Luzerne informed Congress, in secret session, that "The King has resolved to grant the United States a subsidy of six millions livres tournois, and to enable Dr. Franklin to borrow four millions more for the service of this year." That the surplus of the six millions over immediate wants "be at the disposal of Congress, or of the superintendent of their finances, if they think proper to trust him with the management of it." *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. II., p. 411. On the first June, Luzerne wrote Washington of this fact officially. *III. Sparks's Corr.*, 328. And on the 5th June we find the above reference to it in the reply to the 7th query. The Havana money was for Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance, individually.

‡ The mediation offered by the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Joseph of Austria, to effect a general peace, which the celebrated Kaunitz in vain endeavored to make a success, though the Continental Congress were ready to embrace it on the basis of Independence is here referred to.

§ The general circulation of the "Old Continental Money" ceased at the time here spoken of—May, 1781. But as soon as it took place immense speculations set in. The merchants and others of the Southern and Middle States, apprehending its entire loss of value, rushed vast quantities into New England, especially to Boston, and bought almost everything that was purchasable.

Hence, when it practically became valueless, in the following December, the bulk of it was held in the Eastern States and by some parties in the Middle States, who had faith that ultimately it would be redeemed, and thus enure to their great profit.

Beginning to be issued on the 22d of June, 1775, pursuant to a resolution of Congress of the 10th of May preceding, and ending on the 29th of November, 1779, the total amount issued in that period, four and a half years, was \$241,552,780, as stated in a Report of the Register of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, made January 30, 1828. Its disparagement commenced in Philadelphia in November, 1775, five months only after it was first issued, and about seven months before the Declaration of Independence, by the refusal of certain Quakers to receive it, ostensibly on the ground that it was intended to carry on war. During 1776, notwithstanding most forcible and unscrupulous means to compel its circulation by Committees of Safety, and other bodies, it gradually lost favor, and in June was so perceptibly depreciated as to excite general discussion throughout the "Continent." By December, 1776, it had got into such bad repute that General Putnam on assuming the command of Philadelphia, issued a general order on the 14th of that month that "should any of the inhabitants be so lost to public virtue and the welfare of their country as to presume to refuse the currency of the American States in payment of any commodities they may have for sale, the goods shall be forfeited, and the person or persons so refusing be committed to close confinement." In January, 1777, depreciation set in, and thenceforward gradually, but steadily increased, sometimes faster, and sometimes slower, according to the amounts issued and the outlook of the war, until at the time we are considering—May, 1781—its general circulation, as before stated, "stopped entirely." In August, 1779, when it had sunk twenty-two per cent., General Washington himself refused it. Writing on the 17th of August in that year to Lund Washington, whom he had previously authorized to receive the tendered payment of two bonds, he says: "I have since considered the matter in every point of view in which my judgment enables me to place it, and am resolved to receive no more old debts (such I mean as were contracted and ought to have been paid before the war) at the present nominal value of the money, unless compelled to do it, or it is the practice of others to do it. Neither justice, reason, nor policy requires it. \* \* \* The fear of injuring by any example of mine the credit of our paper currency, if I attempted to discriminate between the real and nominal value of paper money, has already sunk for me a large sum, if the bonds before-mentioned are paid off. \* \* \* If sacrificing my whole estate would effect any valuable purpose, I would not hesitate one moment in doing it. But my submitting in matters of this kind, unless the same is done by others, is no more than a drop in the bucket. In fact, it is not serving the public, but enriching individuals and countenancing dishonesty; for sure I am that no honest man would attempt to pay twenty shillings with one, or perhaps half a one. In a word, I had rather make a present of the bonds than receive payment of them in so shameful a way." (*VI. Sparks, 321.*) Never was there a stronger illustration of his pure patriotism and his exceeding great common sense.

The annexed table, showing the scale of depreciation from first to last of the Continental paper money, is of interest :

YEAR.	January..	February..	March...	April....	May.....	June.....	July.....	August...	September..	October....	November..	December..
1777.....	1½	1½	2	2	2½	2½	3	3	3	3	3	4
1778.....	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6
1779.....	8	10	10	16	20	20	21	22	24	25	36	40
1780.....	42	45	50	60	60	60	65	70	72	73	71	75
1781.....	75	80	90	100	150	250	400	500	600	700	800	1000

In the Articles of Confederation, adopted July 8, 1778, this money, then at five for one, is thus referred to: "All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for the payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged." (Art. XII.)

When the Constitution came to be adopted this money was again thus referred to: "All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation." (Art. VI., par. 1.)

Notwithstanding this "solemn pledge" of "the said United States and the public faith," twice given in the two successive organic laws of this great nation, not one dollar was ever paid! The late Mr. Justice Story, in a conversation on this subject, only the year before his death, with the writer at Cambridge, after expressing regret that some discharge of this debt had not been effected, remarked, it shows that the faith of a nation, be it ever so strongly pledged, cannot be depended on when antagonized by its interest.

A Philadelphian author, a man of intellect and observation, who witnessed the rise, effect and fall of the Continental paper, thus writes: "If it saved the State, it has also polluted the equity of our laws, turned them into engines of oppression and wrong; corrupted the justice of our public administration; destroyed the fortunes of thousands who had most confidence in it; enervated the trade, husbandry and manufactures of our country, and went far to destroy the morality of our people." *Pelotiah Webster's Political Essays*, 175, note.

Another able man of that city who almost in our own day has written on the history of the Continental money, the late venerable Samuel Breck uses this language: "Old debts were paid when the paper money was more than seventy for one. Brothers defrauded brothers, children parents, and parents children. Widows, orphans and others were paid for money lent in specie with depreciated paper, which they were compelled to take." *Papers before the Am. Phil. Society, afterward privately printed*.

Dr. David Ramsay, the historian, says: "Like an aged man expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or a groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. \* \* \* "Public faith was violated, but in the opinion of most men public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation." Vol. II., p. 224.

Thus, in the words of Webster, "fell, ended and died the Continental currency, aged six years; the most powerful State engine and the greatest prodigy of revenue, and of the most mysterious, uncontrollable, and almost magical operation ever known or heard of in the political or commercial world; bubbles of a like sort which have happened in other countries, such as the Mississippi scheme in France, the South Sea in England, etc., lasted for a few months and then burst into nothing; but this held out much longer, and seemed to retain a vigorous constitution to the last, for its circulation was never more brisk and quick than when its exchange was five hundred to one; yet it expired without one groan or struggle; and of all things which have suffered dissolution since life was first given to the creation, this mighty monster died the least lamented. \* \* \* I hope the reader will excuse this small digression, for when I came to the spot where the poor old Continental died, I could not help stopping to mark the place with some little signal of notice." *Webster's Political Essays*, notes 175 and 176.

Besides the Continental paper money, there was also that of the different independent States, as they then were, to an immense amount. But of it space will not permit even a brief mention. In

*Captain Marquard to Captain Beckwith.*

*Morris's House, 7th June, 1781.*

Dear Beckwith

It seems that Col: Tarlton's Valet de Chambre has very much imposed upon us about the French being at Crompond. Several people that have been out to learn the truth and particulars of this story, all agree that there is no such thing. Our friend E: B: is just now here and is returned last night from the Croton. He is sure that about 500 rebels have crossed the North River, and are quartered at Peekskill Hollow, for the purpose of supporting the detachment under Major Scott at the Croton River; about 60 or 70 new raised horse, whose commander's name he could not recollect are also there. He has been told that some French troops were at Danbury but he can't assert [verily] this report: Very likely a detachment of French may have gone to West Point to do duty there in order to enable Washington to make a detachment to the southward.

I depend most upon E: B:\* and he has given me his word that he will find out in a few days what is the matter.

Yours, &c

(Marquard

(signed

Pray let Major DeLancey know what I wrote you now.

"The Paper Currency of the Revolution," the masterly volumes of Henry Phillips, jr., the curious reader will find the whole subject fully treated.

The specie and credit grant by the French Government—really by Vergennes—without whose favor it could not have been obtained, above alluded to in the answer to the seventh query and its note, really saved the Revolution from failure in 1781. That aid, the appointment of Robert Morris as financier, and his measures of supporting public credit on a staple basis by taxation, transformed the darkness into light—a light never afterward to go out—relieved a weak and bankrupt Congress, gave life to a mutinous, starving army, and destroyed forever that idea so long and tenaciously held by the British people, government and commanders in chief, that the American "rebellion" would die of financial exhaustion.

The answers to the foregoing nine queries are evidently by some one at Philadelphia, either in Congress or who had access to its proceedings, as its sessions were always secret. The final caution is probably addressed to the person who communicated the answers to the adjutant-general.

\* "E: B:" was probably Eli Benedict, who, in 1782, was an ensign in Colonel Beverly Robinson's regiment of Guides and Pioneers. He was a native of Danbury, Ct., and the guide of the British on their expedition against that town.—Sabine, 1st ed. 155, and 2d ed. I. p. 224.

(To be continued.)



## MINOR TOPICS

*Letter from Lyon Gardiner Tyler.*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In the December number of your valuable periodical I read with interest your notice of Mr. Barrows' "History of Oregon," wherein this passage occurs: "And yet in 1842 Oregon was hardly thought worth having by the United States, was omitted from the Ashburton Treaty, and the rumor was current that Mr. Webster contemplated trading it off for some codfisheries—although the author of this work, (Mr. Barrows) discredits the story." To dispel the mist hanging around a part of the early history of that region of country, allow me to throw some additional light on the policy of President Tyler's administration with regard to the Oregon question. It is undoubtedly true that in 1842 Oregon presented very few of the attractions which it does at the present day—being then a great wilderness inhabited by wandering tribes of Indians, and containing but few white settlers. Yet at no time did the President contemplate abandoning any portion of that country, without a proper equivalent—to any nation on the face of the earth. This much it is right to say in justice to President Tyler's memory.

The errors of those who have written on the subject have proceeded from a total misconception as to the policy of the administration, which was to use Oregon as the handmaid to California and Texas. Among the notes of President Tyler to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, is one which gives the key to all the negotiations and manœuvres with reference to Oregon. Good critics to whom I have repeated its substance have never failed to be astonished at the scope and character of the suggestion it contains, and to consider it one of the most sagacious, statesmanlike views ever conceived by any man in the administration of affairs. Writing to Webster, the President discloses the scheme of a tripartite treaty between the United States, Great Britain and Mexico, whereby Great Britain was to have the line of the Columbia River—we surrendering most of Washington Territory, the northern half of what was then Oregon, and taking in exchange the much greater and more fertile equivalent of California down to the 36° 30'. At the same time the independence of Texas was to be recognized by Mexico. Such a treaty would satisfy all sections of the Union. Texas would reconcile all to California, and California to the line proposed for Oregon. As Mexico was at the time a mere colony of Great Britain, and largely in debt to her capitalists, the assent of Great Britain was all that was necessary to the treaty, and this the latter was desirous, nay even anxious, to give. To accomplish this policy, the President contemplated sending Webster to England on a special mission, but the subject halted before the

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Congress expired before taking action on the mission. The sole cause of failure lay with Congress, which was as impotent a body of men at this period, consuming the hours in shameless invectives against the President and his Secretary of State, and resorting to every endeavor to embarrass the government.

The recognition by Mexico of the independence of Texas would have resulted immediately, of course, in its incorporation into the American Union; and thus, in peace, and with the extension of the Missouri Compromise line, the whole western problem would have been solved, and all the valuable part of that domain made ours without Polk's needless war of 1846 or the agitation of the slavery question. And even after Polk's ill-advised declaration of "54° 40' or fight," this policy might have been effected to the honor and peace of the country. Polk could even then have compromised honorably and successfully on the line of the Columbia, and secured to us most of what was then Oregon, and California north of 36° 30', and comprising all the country west of Texas to the Pacific Ocean. Apart from his policy of combination, the President looked, as he says, "exclusively" to the 49th parallel, and in 1843 he directed Mr. Webster to instruct Mr. Everett to sound Great Britain on that line—and to the exclusion of the free navigation of the Columbia River conceded by Monroe in his offer in 1818, and John Quincy Adams in 1826. So far was the President from thinking Oregon "not worth having" in 1842.

But in all that was done upon the subject the President ever bore in mind that our claim upon the Oregon Territory could only, from the constant flow of emigrants to the West, grow stronger by delay. The troops of England were operating in China at the time, and could readily be transported to the American coast. Hence, till the other matters could be disposed of, he was in favor, as to Oregon individually, of a new and improved treaty of joint occupancy, with a power reserved in either of the high contracting parties to terminate the same after twelve months' notice. This would have kept the question very conveniently in its aspect of handmaid to California and Texas, and still not have weakened its own independent claim or settlement. When, therefore, Whitman, the missionary, in 1842 presented himself at Washington to obtain President Tyler's sanction to his plan of leading a caravan overland to Oregon, it fell entirely in with the sagacious line of policy which the President had marked out, and received his cordial approval. President Tyler at a later period, in 1843, afforded the same kind of important encouragement to Morse in getting an appropriation from Congress to secure the trial of his telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore. Doubtless both Mr. Barrow and other historians give as many colors as they can to the really praiseworthy action of Whitman.

How far the stories about the indifference of Mr. Webster are true, I know not. Mr. Webster was subject to fits of listlessness, but in general his views were broad and his conceptions bold. Yet, when we read in his letter to Fletcher

Webster (Curtis ii. 250) that the single port of California would be "twenty times as valuable to us as all Texas," extending to the 42°, embracing the richest country in the world and insuring to us the virtual monopoly of the cotton plant as well as the control of the Mexican Gulf, we cannot help smiling and suspecting that some of that old contracted New England spirit, operating in 1787 to the surrender of the free navigation of the Mississippi and the Southwest, was possibly actively at work in his mind, inducing to the surrender in 1842 (had he not been prevented by the President) of Oregon for some advantages to the codfisheries of his own section, New England. (W. H. Gray's History of Oregon, p. 290, et seq.)

This is a true though imperfect presentation of this subject. And yet the questions are so great that I can scarcely do more than hint at them in a letter of this length. All the original letters and documents, substantiating the facts I have asserted with their entire coloring and bearing will be given to the public in my forthcoming work "The Letters and Times of the Tylers," which I trust will be the means of eradicating many an error, and of contributing in some modest degree to a true knowledge of the history of the country.

I remain,

Very truly,

LYON GARDINER TYLER.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,

December 13, 1883.

### CAVALRY FIGHTS WITH THE COMANCHES

Soon after the war with Mexico the United States territory became so extended, and the hostile Indians on the frontier of Texas were such dangerous and troublesome marauders, that an increased military force was deemed necessary for the protection of the border settlers, and Congress therefore adopted measures for raising and equipping two regiments of mounted men, called the First and Second Cavalry. In forming these regiments great care was used in selecting only such officers as had "won their spurs" in the recent war with Mexico; and no more chivalric names adorn the annals of history than this arm of the military service presents—names which have become as familiar as the strains of "Home, Sweet Home," and at the mention of which the heart of the nation must ever thrill with pride while the nation endures; and though in after years some of them pass in review as having worn the "Gray" instead of the "Blue," they remain no less American in their heritage and in their valor, and may still be claimed as our own military chieftains.

In the formation of the First Cavalry were enrolled the names of Col. E. V. Sumner, Jos. E. Johnston, Ben McCullough, Geo. B. McClellan, Ransom, Walker, J. E. B. Stuart, McIntyre, Crittenden, Lomax, Church, and others. In the Second

Cavalry, Albert Sidney Johnson, Robert E. Lee, Geo. H. Thomas, Wm. J. Hardee, Earl Van Dorn, E. Kirby Smith, Theo. O'Hara (the poet), John B. Hood, Fitzhugh Lee, Lieuts. Kimmel, Van Camp, Evans, and others. After these regiments were formed and stationed in Texas, the theater of the principal Indian depredations, their dashing officers, who had made themselves conspicuous for gallantry on numerous battle-fields in Mexico, were frequently engaged in hand-to-hand fights with the savage and ferocious enemies the Comanches, on the borders of Texas, and their trophies of battle bore testimony to the cruel and deadly foes they had to meet and fight to the death rather than be captured and tortured. Scalps of men, women and children hung from the belts of the savages, and also gaudy trappings of bright feathers woven in fantastic devices with shells and beads; their skin and those of their horses were stained with gay colors, making them look unearthly and hideous in the extreme. In time of battle their rude weapons were brandished with demoniacal glee and ferocity, and excited the gravest dread and horror.

Among the engagements that occurred in 1856 was the battle of "The Four Lakes," which was one of cruel slaughter. It was in this conflict that the Comanches were first introduced to the Minnie ball and the long-range rifle. The roar of artillery and the flashing of sabres were only equaled by the savage display and war whoop, and served to render the fight weird and furious, our heroes resolving to perish rather than be captured. The Comanches advanced with such celerity and irregularity that it was difficult to reach them, and each Indian seemed to fight on his own account; but the organized firing of disciplined troops even here tested the art of trained warfare, and without much loss finally put the enemy to flight.

In the same year an important engagement was led by Lieut. John B. Hood, with a command of twenty-five men from the Second Cavalry. The general orders were to attack any hostile Indians away from their reservations. Lieut. Hood had discovered a trail, but, being weary and thirsty, and his horses jaded from a long march, he went toward a river for water. Not far off he saw a few horses grazing and a flag waving over some brush. This proved a decoy. As he advanced within a few paces the flag suddenly dropped, and a large body of Comanches setting fire to the brush rushed from their ambush, some armed with Spanish bayonets, some with rifles and lances, and many with bows and arrows, and raising a wild and desperate war whoop, attacked the surprised party of cavalry. Hood's men fired volley after volley until their shots were expended; then they fell back, leaving six of their comrades on the field, and Lieut. Hood himself was borne away badly wounded. The plains and ravines to which they retreated seemed literally alive with savages, and how the brave command escaped at all was a mystery. From the heights near by they witnessed the horrors of the Indian war dances around the slain, and their hearts were filled with a desire for speedy revenge. On this occasion messengers sent to headquarters soon brought reinforcements, when a few discharges from the howitzer forced the Indians from

their covert to the plain, where they were compelled to cope with batteries supported by dismounted men and cavalry. Companies moved against them with the coolness and precision of a parade, and chief after chief fell in rapid succession, and their gay trappings and plumage were soon dragging in the gory dust. Many Indian women were observed swiftly dragging their dead and wounded from the battlefield; and it was a relief to see them finally give way and fall back in confusion and alarm before their conquerors, whom they outnumbered as ten to one. During this fight, or rather flight, Major Earl Van Dorn with a few men rode in pursuit of a party of fleeing Comanches, who were mounted on fleet mustangs and riding two on a horse. Major Van Dorn's horse was a spirited gray, which stopped at neither branch nor marsh, but cleared everything and plunging along over the ground, placed his rider, a splendid horseman, far in advance of his followers; and when the Indians in the rear of the retreating party were within range of his fire he killed the horse ridden by two young Comanches. Finding themselves on foot and hotly pursued, they quickly fell to their knees and took deliberate aim at the heart of their pursuer. He, holding the reins of the bridle in the left hand directly over the heart, felt one arrow penetrate the two bones of the wrist and glance upward, the other entering his right side and passing out at the left, seriously injuring the lung. These arrows he drew from the wounds instantly himself, the blood flowing in torrents from them. At this juncture the sergeant of the company came up and threw his own body, together with that of his horse, between the major and the flying arrows as a shield, receiving five wounds himself, but thereby saving the life of his commander. This heroism and self-sacrifice was recognized by the government by pensioning the brave sergeant. Major Van Dorn was regarded as the most successful and daring Indian fighter of the time, and was enabled to secure a quiet period for the frontiersmen against the depredations of the Comanches, but his name was one of terror and hatred to the savages.

In 1858 the Comanches renewed their hostilities, and many murders were committed. Again Major Van Dorn was ordered by Gen. Twiggs to equip four companies and go out on a scouting expedition and penetrate the heart of the Indian country. This he did, and after reaching the interior proceeded to build a stockade, and placed within it all the pack mules, extra horses and stores, and left it in charge of infantry. Friendly Indians soon discovered that a large Comanche camp was located near the village of Wichita, ninety miles away. The four companies, attended by guides, started for the camp, and the march of ninety miles was made in thirty-six hours, causing the men to be continuously in the saddle the latter sixteen hours of the ride. At daylight on the morning of October 1, 1858, they reached the village. The four companies were formed into four columns to enter the village, with orders to deploy and charge when in sight of the camp. The charge was sounded on the left and a sudden and deadly swoop was made on the unsuspecting enemy. The Indians rose up with a wild war whoop and made an obstinate defense; there were many hand-to-hand fights, but the battle resulted



in a decisive victory for the cavalry. Eighty or ninety warriors were slain and many captured. General Scott reported to the War Department as follows: "Near the village of Wichita, Brevet Major Earl Van Dorn, Capt. Second Cavalry, commanding Companies A, F, H and K of his regiment, after a forced march of ninety miles in thirty-six hours, came a little after daylight upon the camp of the hostile Comanches, consisting of one hundred and twenty lodges and between four and five hundred Indians. He immediately charged upon it, and after a most desperate struggle of an hour and a half, during which there were many hand-to-hand encounters, achieved a most decisive victory. Fifty-six Indians were left on the field; one hundred and twenty lodges were burned; over three hundred animals taken; a large quantity of supplies appropriated or destroyed, and the surviving Indians dispersed among the mountains in a destitute condition. With this victory it is painful to record the death of Second Lieut. Cornelius Van Camp, Second Cavalry, an active young officer of exceeding promise, once before named in this order for gallantry, who was shot through the heart with an arrow while charging the enemy. Sergeant J. E. Garrison, of Company F; Privates Peter Magar and Jacob Echard, of Company H, were also killed. Private Henry Howard, of that company, is missing, supposed to have been killed. The following were wounded: Company A, Brevet Major Van Dorn, severely, four wounds. \* \* \* During the combat, Capt. N. G. Evans, Second Lieuts. Harrison and Phifer, each killed two, and Lieut. Magar killed three Indians in hand-to-hand encounters. The other officers who were under Major Van Dorn are Captains Whiting and Johnson, Second Lieut. Porter and Acting Asst. Surgeon Carswell, all of whom, together with the non-commissioned officers and privates of Companies A, F, H and K, Second Cavalry, are entitled to great commendation for their gallantry.

\* \* \*

"By command of Bvt. Lieut.-General Scott.

"L. THOMAS,

"*Asst. Adjt.-General.*"

The return of this victorious little army was hailed with enthusiastic rejoicing and congratulation, and the Wichita fight and Van Dorn were the themes of song and story for many years along the borders and in the halls and banqueting-rooms of the cities, and the martial music of the "Wichita March" resounded through the plains of Texas wherever the Second Cavalry encamped or rode off on scouts in after years.

RIZPAH.

## NOTES

A WALL STREET INCIDENT—In his eloquent discourse on Sunday morning, December 30, 1883, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York, said :

"Great events remind us of God and of our faith in him. The best and deepest meanings of history, as of nature, come out only when reared against a divine background. To leave out God is to draw a wet sponge across the best things that history has to say. The history of a century, of a millennium as such, means nothing, unless intelligence that subtends the millennium puts a meaning into it. Mind cannot read what mind has not first written. All interpreting of history proceeds on the quiet assumption of a mind that has worked its thought and built its purpose into history. In this way the study of history helps us to find our faith and feel our faith. The mind of the reader and writer meet on the printed page. So in our efforts to interpret events, the mind that construes teaches the mind that constructs. And especially does this hold of the great and stirring events of history. It is the effect of a great disaster not only that it humbles us, but humbles us before God ; of a great victory, not only that it exalts us, but exalts us before God. We have known how, when an entire nation is stricken, it is involuntary with us to carry our cross into our churches and our tears into our sermons. Such occurrences have in them a power to make the divine very real, and our dependence upon the divine very actual and very conscious. The poets have a way of calling the

mountains divine ; so events that slope up in colossal proportion from the common level of occurrence seem always in the like way freighted with supernal import. It was, I think, the most impressive feature of our recent Evacuation Day celebration, that, by arrangement of the merchants of New York, a public prayer to Almighty God was offered at this city's monetary center. It has not only intensified our faith in the God of history, and in the strong and gracious Providence that has led in the affairs of our national life, but it has shown to us with fresh distinctness and impressiveness the faith that we already had. That scene on the steps of the Sub-treasury building is a declaration to the world that New York, in the persons of its representative men, acknowledges God as a personal Sovereign of nations and arbiter of events."

HISTORIC SILVER—At the Bartholdi Loan Exhibition recently I noticed a magnificent silver cake-basket, which belonged, as I afterward learned, to Mrs. Archibald Russell, of New York, to whom it has descended (she being the daughter of the late John Watts, M.D., eldest son of Robert Watts and Lady Mary Alexander, the eldest child of Sarah Livingston and William Alexander, afterward Lord Stirling).

In the Rutherford manuscript papers, now in the possession of Mrs. Charlotte Livingston, widow of John Rutherford (vol. 3, p. 97), is a letter from Lord Stirling to Peter Van Brugh Livingston, of New York. This Peter Van Brugh Livingston, and his sister Sarah—Lady

Stirling—were children of Philip Livingston, second lord of the Livingston manor. The letter is dated, Boston, Mass., March 15, 1756, and has a postscript from Gen. Shirley (to whom William Alexander was private secretary and aid-de-camp) containing a request that Mr. Livingston would call upon Mr. Larue, the silversmith, and see if a silver bread-basket and coffee-pot, left with him by Gen. Shirley were finished. They were intended for presentation to Mrs. William Alexander, and each of the two was to have her arms engraved upon it. Thus, this basket now on exhibition, bearing the Livingston and Alexander arms, is probably the one ordered by Gen. Shirley for Mrs. Wm. Alexander, afterward Lady Stirling.

E. C. JAY.

DEC. 13, 1883.

FUNERAL EXPENSES IN THE OLDEN TIME—*Dear Editor*:—Among some valuable old papers in my possession I find sundry bills, which are curiously illustrative of the cost of funerals about the middle of the last century. One of these bills is to the estate of Mrs. James Alexander, the widow of the prominent lawyer, mother of Lord Stirling, and grandmother of Bishop Provost. It reads as follows:

1760.

William Cook's Acct.

	£	s.	d.
To ye Rectors.....	0	13	0
To Opening ye (Trinity) Vault.....	0	9	0
To 5 Bells Tooling, at 18s. each....	4	10	0
To ye Pall.....	0	18	0
To ye Clerks fees.....	0	5	6
To 3 Invitations, at 18s. each.....	2	14	0
To Cleaning ye Church.....	0	12	0
To 6 Porters, at 6s.....	1	16	0

11 17 6

To a coffin covered with cloth and lined within:

Finding for ditto, double gilt furniture, full trimmed with all belonging, except cloth lining and ribbon..... 10 00 00

To making up a State Room, finding stuff & tacks..... 0 14 00

£10 14 00

I find no account however of the "baked meats" and feasts provided for the occasion.

But here is a receipt for pew rent in St. Paul's church, then one of the most fashionable churches of the city.

"Received five dollars for one year's pew hire in St. Paul's church, due 1st May, 1801.

"WILLIAM BROWN."

Truly a pew was not the expensive luxury then that it is now! R.

MRS. VOLCKERT P. DOUW—This estimable lady, who died recently in Albany, was one of that elegant, cultured and refined class who for years have graced the aristocratic homes of the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, as well as of the hills of Otsego. She resided in summer at a beautiful country seat in Greenbush known as "Wolvenhoeck," a mansion built in 1723 with bricks imported from Holland, and in winter she occupied her city home in State Street, Albany. It was on the farm of the Douw family that the English army, and the sixteen Colonial regiments, were encamped in 1755, under General Abercrombie, previous to the attack on Fort Ticonderoga in the French and Indian war. And it was at this

historical spot where "Yankee Doodle" was composed by Dr. Shackleferd, and sung in derision of the four Connecticut regiments, under the command of Col. Thomas Fitch, of Connecticut. Mrs. Douw possessed great

loveliness of character with mental endowments of high order; she was of commanding presence, and in her earlier years a pronounced beauty. Her loss will be deeply mourned by a large and admiring circle of friends.

J. F.

### QUERIES.

WASHINGTON BUTTONS—A copper button, partially plated with silver, was



CENTRAL INITIALS OF WASHINGTON; THOSE OF ORIGINAL STATES WITHIN OVALS OF BORDER.

found in the dust of a country highway some years ago and came into my possession. It is of comparatively fine finish and workmanship. An antiquarian informs me that he has seen three similar buttons in possession of different persons, who call them "Washington buttons." What is known of the history of those buttons and of the occasion of their being made?

THEO. F. WOLFE, M. D.

JERSEY CITY, Dec. 24, 1883.

DE WOLFE—An old history of New York mentions Abraham De Wolf. Broadhead's History of New York (Harpers, 1859) speaks of Dirck De Wolf. Both these persons were from Amsterdam, and manufacturers of salt. Were they both of the same family? Is

there a living descendant of either, or any record of their families?

In Connecticut, we find Balthazar, or Belshazzar, or Bazaleel De Wolf, mentioned in Hartford in 1656, in Wethersfield in 1664. He wrote his own name "Baltazarr dewolf," his son, Edward, added an *e* at the end of the name. Balthazar De Wolf removed to Lyme in 1668, with his sons Edward, Simon and Stephen. He had probably a daughter, Mary, and perhaps other children. Descendants of his name have been prominent families in Rhode Island and Nova Scotia for several generations. The Governor Griswold branch of the Lyme Griswolds are his descendants in the female line.

Can any one connect the New York and Connecticut De Wolfs?

Can the derivation of the name be ascertained? There are said to be high families of the name in Belgium and Germany. There is also a De Wolfe coat of arms in Burke's General Armory, showing an English family of the name.

Please address in reply,

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY,  
New Haven, Conn.

U. S. ENSIGN—Please inform me through your Magazine the origin of design of the U. S. Ensign and oblique,

C. R. MALLINSON,

TROOP F 2d CAV. FORT CUSTER, M. T.

## REPLIES

IS IT THE FIRST AMERICAN COIN? [x. 518]—The figure of the piece under the above title is something new as a coin. In the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. V. p. 25, will be found a cut from a specimen of Aztec money—so called by all of the early writers on Mexican History; this specimen belongs to a member of the Boston Numismatic Society, and an account of it is given by William S. Appleton. In Vol. 16, p. 1, of the same journal is an account of "Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America," by J. Carson Brevôort, which gives reference to various authors on the subject. No mention is made of any other form of money at that early date.

J. C.

18 SOMERSET ST., BOSTON.

COLONEL DAVID CROCKETT [x. 484]—The closing paragraph of the sketch of Col. Crockett in the December Magazine does great injustice to the defenders of the Alamo, while it unwittingly, I have no doubt, associates Crockett with the only group of skulkers found in that heroic garrison. The passage begins as follows: "The scene is at the Alamo: The Alamo is surrounded by the army of Santa Anna, and but six of the garrison are left alive. *The garrison has surrendered.*" This assertion is all wrong. Not a man of that garrison surrendered, but each one, Crockett among the rest, fell fighting at his post, except the few skulkers referred to. Even they did not surrender; but were dragged from their hiding-place and executed. The writer goes on to say: "Crockett stands alone in an angle of the fort; the barrel of

his shattered rifle in his right hand, and in his left a huge bowie-knife, dripping blood. There is a frightful gash across his forehead, while around him is a complete barrier of about twenty Mexicans lying pell-mell dead and dying."

The assailants of the Alamo were infantry troops, armed with musket and bayonet, and during the minute, or half minute, which it must have taken Crockett to fell his twenty foes, who had more than twenty at their backs, it is singular that no soldier was able to shoot or pierce him; for a man who wielded a rifle-barrel in one hand, and a big bowie-knife in the other, however robust, must have been an awkward fencer. The passage then continues thus: "Crockett's look and step are as undaunted and defiant as ever. The word of death is given. A dozen swords are sheathed in that brave heart, and Crockett falls and expires without a groan, a frown on his brow, and a smile of scorn and defiance on his lips—a fitting end to his heroic life." Now what prevented those twenty swords from doing their office before Crockett got through with striking down twenty of his assailants. A good story, whether true or not, ought to have a spice of probability. All that is known about Crockett's death is, that, like his companions, he fell fighting at his post. Santa Anna was not accompanied by a corps of ubiquitous, all-seeing reporters, who could describe the last blow and last look of every hero who fell. Crockett's body was found, not in an angle of the fort, but in a one-gun battery which overtopped the center of the west wall, where his remains were identified by Mr.



Ruiz, a citizen of San Antonio, whom Santa Anna, immediately after the action, sent for and ordered to point out the slain leaders of the garrison.

In regard to the six last survivors, of whom the writer to whom I refer says Crockett was one, the fact from which the story has apparently grown is, that about half an hour, I think it was, after the capture and massacre, four, five, or six men of the garrison were found in one of the rooms of the Alamo, concealed under bundles of forage or some such substance. The discovery was reported to Santa Anna, who ordered the men to be shot, which was at once done; but it is needless to say that Crockett was not one of them. He was already dead at his post when those men were found.

The defence of the Alamo and the fall of its garrison form one of the most heroic incidents in our history; but the true recollection of it is almost buried under fictions, which, from reaction, are liable to throw doubt on the real heroism of the narrative. The name of Crockett has been a fruitful nucleus for those incredible yarns, one of which contradicted his heroic death by bringing him to life in the mines of Mexico. His name seems to have a charm which can secure belief for any romance about him. The author of the article in question gives a truthful account of Crockett's home life, but has evidently been misled by some extravagant story-teller concerning his death.

REUBEN M. POTTER.

AMERICAN HOUSE, HAMILTON, Bermuda.

LAFAYETTE'S REGRETS [ix. 521. x. 82. 83]—Relative to the discussion provoked by my article in the November Magazine, as to whether Lafayette visited

Washington's Headquarters when in Newburgh, September 16, 1824, I would further say that the steamer *James Kent*, having run aground on the Oyster Bars, the party was detained three hours, and thus Lafayette did not arrive at the wharf until seven o'clock in the evening. Immediately entering a barouche, he was escorted in procession through Colden, First, and Smith Streets, to the Orange Hotel, which he never left, except for a few minutes to step into the ball-room in Crawford's Hotel to shake hands with the ladies, until his final departure. The remainder of his time was wholly employed in the Orange Hotel, in receiving and replying to addresses, in visiting there the Hiram Lodge of Free Masons, in resting in his chamber, and in taking supper at 12 o'clock (midnight), when he sat down to table with about one hundred gentlemen. At two A.M. he left the dock for Poughkeepsie. To the official address, in the Orange Hotel, of Francis Crawford, Esq., president of the village, Lafayette replied: "That he returned the corporation and the inhabitants of the village of Newburgh his sincere thanks for the kind reception he met with from them, and for the remembrance of his former services. That he regretted extremely that he could not have arrived at an earlier hour. That it would have given him the greatest pleasure to have visited the house long tenanted by the great Washington, and the ground where the American army had encamped." In the *Newburgh Gazette* for September 18, 1824, and in Eager's History of Orange County, are minute and circumstantial accounts of Lafayette's visit. ASA BIRD GARDNER.

JUDGE ADVOCATE'S OFFICE, GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, 9 January, 1884.

## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY —The last stated meeting of the society for the year 1883 was held December 4. The paper of the evening was read by Chief-Justice Charles P. Daly on "Songs and Song-writing," an attractive subject in excellent hands, and its able treatment was favored with many marks of approbation by the cultivated and appreciative audience present. The careful research and nice criticism, with which the paper was replete, threw much new light upon the history of songs, and the recondite principles of feeling and taste involved in their composition; while the graceful recital of many famous examples and their interesting story lent an additional charm to this most entertaining lecture.

The annual meeting for 1884 was held January 2. The yearly reports of the executive committee, treasurer, and librarian were read, showing the steady growth of the collections and the society's general progress and continued prosperity during the past year. Care and prudence continue to characterize the management of its funds. Steadily adhering to its wise policy, it has no debts, no mortgages on its building or its collections, and no outstanding bills. The funds belonging to the society amount to \$69,000. The income during the year was \$12,526.41, and the expenditures were \$8,936.07.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society for the year 1884: President, Augustus Schell; First Vice-President, Hamilton Fish; Second Vice-President, Benjamin H. Field; Foreign Corresponding Secretary, William M.

Evarts; Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Edward F. De Lancey; Recording Secretary, Andrew Warner; Treasurer, Benjamin B. Sherman; Librarian, Jacob B. Moore. Messrs. Benjamin H. Field, George H. Moore, and William Dowd were appointed members of the executive committee, to serve for four years, and Messrs. Heber B. Durand, Andrew Warner, George H. Moore, John A. Weekes, Daniel Huntington, and Cephas G. Thompson, members of the Committee on the Fine Arts.

The need of enlarged accommodations for its collections in all departments is felt by the society more severely than ever, but the expectation is entertained that, with matured plans, they will shortly be provided. The report presented by the executive committee contained the details of the society's condition and progress, including an interesting synopsis of its history, and its struggles and triumphs during the seventy-nine years of its existence. In view of the fact that its noble work has been accomplished mainly without external aid, public or private, the committee recommended that it should continue to rely on the zeal, interest and substantial aid of its members for the accomplishment of its present effort, notwithstanding it is one virtually to place its extensive collections on a footing commensurate with their value and importance, for the permanent enjoyment and use of the public.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY — The winter meeting of this society was held at the library hall in Portland, December 22, 1883, afternoon and evening.

The meeting was opened with a brief address by the president, Hon. Jas. W. Bradbury, of Augusta. Mr. H. W. Bryant, the librarian and curator, read his quarterly report, and the President called upon Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, for an interesting paper on the British occupation of Penobscot during the Revolution. An excellent paper by Dr. C. E. Banks, U. S. M. H. S., of Washington, D. C., on the first Governor of Maine, Edward Godfrey, was read by Gen. Brown; and William F. Gould, Esq., of Portland, discoursed on the first Banks and Bankers of Portland. Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D., read a paper concerning the Rev. William Screven. The first Baptist church in Charleston, S. C. was organized by men from Kittery. The first knowledge we have concerning the church in Kittery is to be gleaned from a letter written Jan. 3, 1682, from that place, and directed to the Baptist church in Boston, requesting it to assist in founding a church of like faith with its own and that Rev. William Screven be called for its pastor. The church at Boston acted on this letter.

**BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—The annual meeting of this society was held on the evening of January 8th, Vice-President William D. Fobes occupying the chair. The Secretary read the manager's report for the year, and the following officers were elected: President, William D. Fobes; Vice-President, Stephen M. Clement; Recording Secretary, Leon F. Harvey, M.D.; Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, George G. Barnum; Councillors, W. H. H. Newman, Rev. A. T. Chester, D.D., Hon.

James M. Smith, O. H. Marshall, Wm. C. Bryant, Jared H. Tilden, Emmor Haines, Rev. Samson Falk, Ansley Wilcox, George W. Townsend, James Sheldon, Charles B. Germain, Elias S. Hawley, and Maurice Kingsley. Mr. Fobes, on taking the chair as presiding officer for the year, addressed the meeting with great force and earnestness in relation to the future of the society.

**WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—The annual meeting was held January 2d, at its rooms in the Capitol. President John A. Rice called the body to order, after which officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, Hon. John A. Rice; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL.D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL.D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. M. M. Davis, Baraboo; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy Lake; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Hon. David Atwood, Madison; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. C. L. Colby, Milwaukee; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; Fred. S. Perkins, Esq., Burlington. Corresponding Secretary, Lyman C. Draper, LL.D.; Recording Secretary, Robert M. Bashford; Treasurer, Hon. A. H. Main; Librarian, Daniel S. Durrie. At the close of the meeting Dr. Draper—thirty years Corresponding Secretary of this Society—was presented with a handsome silver tea service.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—

The sixty-second annual meeting of this institution was held on the evening of Tuesday, January 8, President William Gammell in the chair. The principal feature of the occasion was the annual address of the president, which embodied a comprehensive account of the progress and work of the society during the year, and was received with marked expressions of appreciation. Hon. Amos Perry, the Secretary, read letters of great interest, and Dr. Charles W. Parsons, chairman of the Library Committee, reported the gifts as exceeding in number and quality those of any previous year. Officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, Professor William Gammell; First Vice-President, Hon. Francis Brinley, of Newport; Second Vice-President, Dr. Chas. W. Parsons; Secretary, Hon. Amos Perry; Treasurer, Richmond P. Everett.

---

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A quarterly meeting of the Chicago Historical Society was held in its hall, January 15, 1884. President Arnold occupied the chair. The Librarian reported upon the accessions to the library, and a paper on "The Thirteenth Amendment in the Illinois Legislature in 1865" was read by Hon. William Bross, who was Lieutenant-Governor at the time the amendment was adopted, February 1, 1865. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold; Vice-Presidents, E. B. Washburne and John Wentworth; Secretary and Librarian, Albert D. Hager; Treasurer, Henry H. Nash.

---

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-ninth

annual meeting in the library hall, in Somerset street, Boston, on Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1884. The occasion was one of marked interest in various respects. Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, the President, who is 85 years of age, occupied the chair, and conducted the proceedings in his accustomed felicitous manner. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Marshall P. Wilder; Vice-presidents, Joseph Williamson of Maine, Joseph B. Walker of New Hampshire, Hiland Hall, Vermont, George C. Richardson, Massachusetts, John R. Bartlett, Rhode Island, Edwin H. Bugbee, Connecticut; honorary Vice-presidents, George William Curtis, LL.D., of New York, and 13 others; corresponding secretary, Edmund F. Slafter; recording secretary, David Haskins, Jr.; treasurer, Benjamin B. Torrey; historiographer, Increase N. Tarbox; librarian, John W. Dean.

---

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY — The January meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held at the rooms on Thursday, January 10. The President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, remarked that ninety-four years had passed since the first meetings of the original founders of the society were held, and that six years hence it would celebrate its centennial anniversary. After touching upon several topics of moment, he alluded, feelingly to the loss sustained in the recent death of Mr. George Dexter, whom he considered a model secretary and a scholar of exceptional acquirements. Mr. A. B. Ellis read an excellent paper entitled "American Patriotism on the Sea."

## BOOK NOTICES

LIBRARY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN LITERATURE. NO. III. THE GÜE-GÜENCE; A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua. Edited by DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 94. Philadelphia. 1883.

Dr. Brinton has given us in this work the only specimen of the native American comedy in existence, as far as known to him. The manuscript was obtained by the late Dr. Carl Hermann Berendt, in Nicaragua, who, however, made no translation of any portion of it. The story of the comedy is quaint and peculiar, and will be regarded with interest by many who neither count themselves scientists or antiquarians. The grim humor which the native mind seemed to prefer was in a certain peculiarity assumed to deceive and get the better of one's neighbor. The most valuable portion of the book is the Introduction, covering twenty-four pages, with numerous instructive illustrations. It treats of the Nahuas and Mangués of Nicaragua, their Bailes or dramatic dances, their music and musical instruments, and gives much curious information concerning the play itself. Dr. Brinton says: "No hint as to its author is anywhere found. There are, however, reasons which I consider weighty ones, to believe that it is the production either of a native Indian or a half-caste." Of its age he remarks: "It is probable that we may assign the early portion of the eighteenth century as the latest date for its composition, and there is some evidence that a more remote period is not improbable."

THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD. The Twenty-third Psalm. In Song and Sonnet. Illustrated. BY WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. Square 12mo, pp. 44. Lee & Shepard. Boston. 1884.

A charming and unique little volume containing twelve original songs and sonnets founded on the twenty-third Psalm, even while appearing simply as one of a group of holiday beauties, must necessarily attract more than ordinary attention. These poems are from the pen of Rev. William C. Richards, whose poetical productions during the last twenty years have delighted so many appreciative readers. With every return of the gift season we are treated to scores of choice collections from the poets, arrayed in every garb which artistic taste and ingenuity can devise, but rarely do we meet on these occasions with a whole volume of original poems, or, as in this instance, with a new and permanent gem in the coronal of sacred Psalmody. Such a work should be individualized, and take its proper rank among original productions. The author

has given us two poems on each verse of the beautiful Psalm, and each poem is accompanied by an appropriate full-page illustration of exceptional merit, both as regards conception and execution. These poems teem with sweetness and sentiment, the thought restrained within the limits of close and clear expression, the movement varied and musical, giving us indeed an exquisitely luxurious sense of the charms of sound and rhythm; and the interpretation of the Psalm is just as well as comprehensive. The publishers have issued the book in admirable taste. It first appeared in the "Golden Floral" style, with silk-fringed, daintily illuminated card-board covers. But it met with such favor that a new edition in permanent binding was presently found indispensable.

A MEMORIAL, with Reminiscences Historical, Personal, and Characteristic, of John Farmer, A.M., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. BY JOHN LE BOSQUET. 16mo, pp. 138. Cupples, Upham & Co. 1884.

Dr. Farmer was a distinguished antiquarian scholar and a Christian philanthropist, who was born in 1789, and died in 1838. He resided during the last seventeen years of his life at Concord, New Hampshire, and was a busy writer on a variety of historical and genealogical subjects. A long list of his published and unpublished works appears in the fifteenth chapter of the little volume before us; not least among which are mentioned "ten bound volumes, duodecimo, of memoirs of more than two thousand graduates of Harvard College, and two bound volumes, same size, of memoirs of graduates of Dartmouth College." During his later years he was occupied in arranging, indexing, and preparing for binding, the public papers of the State of New Hampshire. He left behind him a large mass of material for a second volume of the History of New Hampshire. His "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England" was projected on a broad scale, and was a work of immense labor. He assisted in the formation of the New Hampshire Historical Society, in 1823, and a year or two afterward became its corresponding secretary; an office he continued to fill with eminent ability to the end of his life.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, January 1637 | 8—September 1664. Published by Authority of the State, under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, Editor. Square



quarto, pp. 563. 1883. Price per volume \$2.50.

This volume contains a minutely accurate transcript of the proceedings and acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, during upward of a quarter of a century prior to 1664, together with four excellent indexes—one to the titles of the bills read, another to the bills passed, a third to names of persons and places, and a fourth to miscellaneous business. The very foundations of Maryland's history are thus made accessible to every inquiring mind. Preceding the main body of the work is an interesting Report of the Committee of Publication—consisting of John W. M. Lee, Bradley T. Johnson, and Hon. Henry Stockbridge—respecting the principles which have governed its action in the work, and the various steps that have been taken by the Historical Society of Maryland to discharge the duty imposed upon it by the State. This committee informs us that they have now a copy of every law passed in the province of Maryland up to 1670, with but very few exceptions. A Calendar of the STATE ARCHIVES, occupying forty or more pages of the work, describes the contents of all the books of legislative records which have been deposited in the fire-proof repository of the Historical Society. This is an exceptionally valuable portion of the work. In the Editor's Preface which follows we learn that the text has been printed exactly as it is written, with all the errors, irregularities of spelling, contractions, eccentricities of punctuation, etc., faithfully reproduced. The true objects in view in providing for the publication of the early archives of the Province have been to secure the documents from further loss, and to place students and investigators abroad in as favorable a position as is enjoyed by those who have access to the original manuscripts.

The work is handsomely printed in clear, bold type, on fine paper, annotated with marginal references. The State of Maryland, the Historical Society, the Committee of Publication, and the accomplished Editor are all to be congratulated upon the successful results of their well-directed efforts.

#### MARYLAND IN THE BEGINNING. A

Brief Submitted to the Historical and Political Science Association of Johns Hopkins University. BY EDWARD D. NEILL. Pamphlet. 8vo, pp. 54. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. 1884.

The Maryland charter; the Embarkation of Colonists; the Faith of the Colonists; Arrival in Maryland; The First Commissioners—Thomas Cornwallis, Jerome Hawley, and Leonard Calvert; Leading Men in the Beginning—Justinian Snow, Henry Fleet, and George Evelyn; Balti-

more's Dispute with Jesuit Missionaries; The Act of 1649 concerning Religion; and the Jesuit Mission, are the principal topics embodied in this concise little treatise, which bears the impress of careful study, and is written in clear, forcible English.

APPLETON'S GUIDE TO MEXICO, Including a Chapter on Guatemala, and a complete English-speaking Vocabulary. BY ALFRED R. CONKLING, LL.B., Ph.B. With a Railway Map and Illustrations. 12mo. pp. 378. D. Appleton & Co. New York. 1884.

Mexico is fast becoming one of the most interesting countries in the world. Hence it is no matter of wonder that the want of a guide-manual should have of late been keenly felt by the throngs of tourists, capitalists and speculators visiting that country, or that the demand should have met with an intelligent response in the appearance of such a necessary volume. But we hardly looked for so extensive an amount of useful and general information as we find condensed into these well-digested pages. How to reach Mexico, the cost and methods of travel, and the proper season for a visit, whether of pleasure or profit, are natural inquiries quickly answered in the opening chapter. But as we turn the leaves one after another we acquire wisdom in a multitude of unexpected directions, more particularly in relation to history and chronology, geography and topography, literature, concerning important ruins, commerce, architecture, painting, mineral wealth, geology, zoology, agriculture, religion, and education. We are nearly half through the book, our interest thoroughly aroused in Mexico, its condition, its progress, and its needs, when we reach Part Second, and begin a new lesson in Mexico's "Cities and Routes of Travel." The work abounds in illustrations, and its railway maps are excellent. It is the best and most complete guide-book to a great and growing country that we have ever seen. Its information is presented in agreeable style, its reading matter is attractive, and it is the only book of this description concerning Mexico known to exist. The traveler henceforward will, we predict, make this model manual as much a part of his luggage as his hand-glass or pocket-knife.

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS OF

ORVILLE DEWEY, D.D. Edited by his daughter, MARY E. DEWEY. 12mo. pp. 366. Roberts Brothers. Boston. 1883.

With the exception of Dr. Channing, no clergyman occupied a more prominent position in

the early annals of American Unitarianism than Dr. Dewey. The sketch of his own life, written in his declining years, occupies the first one hundred and sixteen pages of this volume, and while it reveals but little of the real man as he appeared in the most active and influential part of his career, it is charmingly readable. He describes the little town of Sheffield, where he was born, in 1794, and tells how his grandparents came there through the woods on horseback, from Westfield, before any roads were built; he gives us glimpses of his child-life, of school exhibitions in the meeting-house—the stage laid upon the pews—of holidays, singing-schools, militia musters, of the books he read in his youth, of his first acquaintance with Dr. Channing, of the distinguished men he met in after years, and of many varied and interesting experiences. He presents a graphic account of the church on the corner of Mercer and Prince Streets, New York City, over which he was installed pastor in 1835; of its destruction by fire in 1837, and of the erection of its successor—the Church of the Messiah—in 1839. Among the New Yorkers of whom he speaks are Peter Cooper, Joseph Curtis, and William Cullen Bryant, who were members of his congregation. He often visited Moses Grinnell in his hospitable home, meeting there Washington Irving and other notables. Jonathan Goodhue, the great merchant, he says, "was a man whom nobody that knew him can ever forget. Tall and fine-looking in person, simple and earnest in manner, with such a warmth in his accent that to shake hands with him was to feel happier for it all the day after. I remember passing down Wall Street one day when old Robert Lenox was standing by his side. After one of those warm greetings I passed on, and Mr. Lenox said: 'Who is that?' 'Mr. Dewey, a clergyman of a church in the city.' 'Of which church?' said Mr. Lenox. 'Of the Unitarian Church.' 'The Lord have mercy upon him!' said the old man. It was a good prayer, and I have no doubt it was kindly made."

Dr. Dewey's health failing, he traveled extensively in Europe and elsewhere; he passed a few winters in Washington. He does not seem to have been satisfied with the results of his study of the philosophy of history and humanity, and complains of his "understanding falling into contradiction with the judgments it formed last month or last year." He held positive views on the question of slavery, to which he gave forcible expression in a time of great excitement, that "the law must be obeyed," which brought upon him an immeasurable torrent of abuse. He was gifted in oratory, and as a preacher will be best remembered by the public. His daughter has made a wise selection from his correspondence, which adds greatly to the substantial value of the volume.

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW. Vol. I., No.

I. Published monthly. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The publication of a new religious monthly, edited by five theological professors, is in itself an event in periodical literature worthy of special notice. It announces for its object positive and constructive work in the sphere of opinion and belief, rather than controversy, and will advocate the method and spirit of Progressive Orthodoxy. One of its notable features will be the survey by competent writers of the religious condition of other countries, particularly of those in which missionaries are actively at work. Questions relating to the building of society at the West, and to its reconstruction at the South, will be discussed by men engaged in the work; and practical studies in Sociology will be given from time to time. It promises also to become a critical organ in Biblical, historical and philosophical matters. The initial number of this new and interesting publication covers one hundred and twenty royal octavo pages. Its leading article is by Professor Egbert C. Smyth, one of the editors, and is an admirable presentation of the theological position of the *Review*. Washington Gladden, D.D., writes of Christianity and Aestheticism; Professor Jewett, of the Norris gifts to the Andover Seminary; Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., of New York, contributes A Bible Study—The Unjust Steward; Professor Harris writes of the Doctrine of Sacred Scriptures, which is substantially a review of Professor Ladd's recent work; Augustus F. Beard, D.D., surveys the Huguenot churches of modern France in a particularly happy manner, bringing together a mass of facts never before collected into the same relationship; and Miss Caroline Hazard contributes two short poems. There is also an editorial department, with notes, notices and other matters of moment, not least among which may be found a chapter of intelligence from the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Leyden, September 10-15, 1883, that brought together more than two hundred scholars from various parts of the world. The editors of the *Andover Review* are Professors Egbert C. Smyth, William J. Tucker, J. W. Churchill, George Harris, and Edward Y. Hincks. We cordially commend this new enterprise to the careful attention of our readers.

**ANNOUNCEMENT**—The Griswold Family of Connecticut—in three parts, the first of which appears in our current issue—a most agreeable as well as scholarly chapter of history, biography, and genealogy combined, by Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, will be continued through the March and April numbers of the Magazine.—EDITOR.





*J. P. Brissot*  
geboren den 14<sup>ten</sup> Jenner 1754.  
Deputirter bey der ersten Gesetzgebung  
aus dem Departement von Paris.  
guillotiniert den 29<sup>ten</sup> October 1793.

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XI

MARCH 1884

No. 3

## OUR TWENTY-ONE PRESIDENTS

### II.

#### THE LAST ELEVEN.

IN the paper on the first ten presidents which was printed in the February number of this Magazine it was shown that the average length of presidential service has considerably decreased as the years of the Republic have grown in number. A not less interesting fact is that the age at which men are called to the presidency has also decreased to a surprising extent, the decrease beginning with the second division of the list. Taking only the years of their ages, and omitting the months, we find that the average age of the first ten presidents, at the time of entering upon the office, was fifty-eight and eight-tenths years; while that of the last eleven has been only fifty-three and nine-elevenths years. Indeed only two of the eleven had reached the average age of the first ten at the time of their inauguration. These two were Taylor and Buchanan.

When we remember that five of the first ten served for eight years each, while only one of the last eleven did so, it will be seen that the difference is still more marked between the average age of presidents in office during the first fifty-six years, and that of those in office during the last forty years.

But if we divide the whole list of presidents into four groups—three of five each and one of six—it will be seen that the decrease has been confined entirely to the last two groups—the last eleven presidents. The average age of the first five—from Washington to Monroe—was precisely the same as that of the second five,—from John Quincy Adams to Tyler,—namely, fifty-eight and eight-tenths years. With the third group of five, however—from Polk to Buchanan—the decline was sharp, the average being only fifty-six years. With the remaining six—from Lincoln to Arthur—it sinks to fifty-two years.